
ALIENATION AND SKINHEADS:

**An exploratory study
into the attitudes of an
antisocial subgroup of society**

A thesis
in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
(Psychology)

by
Rasjad Addison

University of Canterbury

1996

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis would not have been completed without the help of the following:

The participants, without whose frank and open responses, little could have been accomplished.

Kyle Chapman, the New Way Trust and all those connected, who helped with the evaluation project, thereby getting the thesis off the ground.

My supervisor, Rodney Routledge for his guidance and wit.

Alina, my wife, for her support.

Cheers, everyone.

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ABSTRACT

This study examined alienation levels and attitudes of a group of non-conformist New Zealand individuals who voluntarily adopted a criminal-appearing lifestyle and dress and called themselves skinheads. Alienation can be defined to include feelings of powerlessness, social isolation, self-estrangement, normlessness, meaninglessness, unpredictability, and cultural estrangement. It was thought that individuals who voluntarily adopt such an socially 'abnormal' lifestyle would consider themselves to be alienated from society. This is in contrast to a study conducted in the United States (Hamm, 1993) that found skinheads consider themselves a part of mainstream society, albeit on the fringes of that society. The results of this study showed New Zealand skinheads to be alienated, come from abusive backgrounds, are racist, unemployed, and engage in criminal behaviour. Furthermore, interviews with the skinhead participants were analyzed to determine how and why these individuals became skinheads, their attitudes towards skinhead lifestyle and philosophy and their attitudes towards the New Way Trust - a skinhead outreach group in Christchurch. Future directions of research designed to investigate more fully the nature of alienation in skinheads, as well as suggestions to mitigate such behaviour were also discussed.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Alienation

Everyone, at times, knows how it is to feel different; to be isolated; to be the odd one out. Moreover, most would consider this state to be a highly unpleasant one associated with many negative feelings. Fortunately, for most people, this feeling is usually a temporary state that passes quickly., but for some people, this is their everyday state. They can wake up feeling out of touch with themselves, their family, their neighbourhood, their society, or the world in which they live. This feeling of estrangement, which may be associated with any or all of these feelings of isolation and estrangement, is known as alienation.

The concept of alienation is often used with reference to adolescents and young adults such as in the public persona created by James Dean in the 1950s or in the “Angry young man” image popular in Britain at the same time. It is thought adolescents and young adults feel a sense of alienation because, although they have rejected the identity of being their parents’ child, they have not fashioned an adult identity that is uniquely their own. Therefore, they are considered to be alienated because their still-unformed identity does not seem to find affinity with their family, friends, or society (Erikson, 1968).

Alienation as a concept is, however, much more complex than the rather simple image often portrayed in the media. Historically, alienation was first considered to represent an estrangement from God and the possibility of salvation (Simpson &

Weiner, 1989). More recently, Marx (1844) thought alienation to represent the condition in which humans were estranged from and exploited by the society in which they lived. In a capitalist society, instead of the people controlling their functions and product, they were controlled by them. At the end of the 19th Century alienation was thought to be a medical/psychological condition in which one was separated from what were considered to be one's normal mental processes (Simpson & Weiner, 1989).

Nettler (1957), in an attempt to measure and operationally define alienation, characterised the alienated person as one who has been estranged from and made unfriendly towards society and the culture it carries. Similarly, Marxist sociologist Richard Schmitt (1983) suggested that alienation holds the meaning of unhappiness in our society. Schmitt talks about people as experiencing alienation through loneliness, depression, a feeling of the meaninglessness of life, and a feeling of separation from the country they live in and from the human race. Thus, Schmitt regarded alienation as feelings mainly expressed by negative emotional states, a concept he characterises as "global miseries". These miseries are not considered to be caused by specific time-bound experiences, but are manifestations of the more pervasive underlying condition that can be called alienation.

Psychological researchers have also made efforts to study alienation empirically. Seeman (1959) approached the meaning of alienation from the social-psychological point of view, formulating a model of alienation based on the five facets of powerlessness, self-estrangement, normlessness, meaninglessness and cultural

estrangement. Furthermore, he emphasised the importance of understanding the duality of alienation that occurs at both the individual and the societal level. Alienation, therefore, can occur in terms of race, religion, culture, subculture, authority, family, peers, or any social grouping as a unique individual experience, and also as a group phenomenon. For example, as in the manner in which a member of an ethnic or subcultural minority simultaneously feels estranged from mainstream society as individual and as a member of a minority group.

De Mann and Devisse (1987) also maintained that alienation is related to both society and the individual. They suggested it occurs as a result of the combination of a society's demand for adjustment and an individual's ability to adjust. They found in their study that alienation is related to external locus of control and low self-esteem with regard to powerlessness and social isolation. Self-esteem was the best single predictor of alienation. That is, low levels of self-esteem were found to be associated with high levels of alienation. No significant association was found between mental ability and alienation. Thus, alienated people are likely to be those who see the direction of their lives as controlled by environmental situation, luck, chance, and manipulation by others, and/or those who doubt themselves and feel that they lack personal control.

Seeman (1991), in a review of the literature on alienation expanded the definition of alienation to include:

1. Powerlessness (vs. Personal mastery), referring to the feeling that one cannot influence their surroundings. For example, this could apply to feeling disconnected from one's family.
2. Social isolation and loneliness (vs. Community), refers to one's feeling of isolation within society, having no community to share one's self with. This may be transitory, arising from as simple a situation as moving to a new city or country, or it can be more fundamental to a person's psyche, as with members of anti-social subcultures.
3. Self-estranged, extrinsic activity (vs. intrinsic engagement in work), is a concept portraying people's inability to find work that is psychologically rewarding. This represents, in part, Marx's (1844) meaning of alienation. That is, alienation is thought to occur when workers become estranged from the result of their work and production becomes more important than the individual. It is also related to self-alienation, that is, the detachment from one's self and the failure to be aware of one's true interests and purpose (Seeman, 1959).
4. Normlessness and distrust (vs. Consensual order). This concept, which is related to anomie or a feeling of normlessness, is a state of mind in which one feels adrift in the world, lacking clear rules (de Mann, 1987).
5. Meaninglessness, ambiguity and unpredictability (vs. Coherence), is the feeling that the world is not understandable and that the normal means used by most people to achieve their goals are useless. Thus, an individual is required to resolve to illicit activities to achieve their desires, (Abercrombie, Hill &

Turner, 1988). The description illustrates the relevance of alienation to delinquent youth.

6. Cultural estrangement (vs. Shared values), is a situation in which people feel detached from the dominant culture. It can be related to political, racial, or ethnic alienation.

These six points represent the bulk of psychological research on alienation, and as such, can be considered as definitions of the major dimensions within the underlying concept of alienation. Together, they make up the multi-faceted psychological definition of alienation.

Roberts (1987), however, in an examination of Seeman's (1959) original five-factor model found that not all factors were of equal importance in determining one's state of alienation. Roberts found that powerlessness and self-estrangement were the two central facets, while meaninglessness, normlessness and cultural estrangement showed progressively smaller relationships to the underlying alienation construct. This study showed once again that feeling a lack of control over one's life is a central theme in alienation. Moreover, it outlined the association between the feeling of no control and a non-awareness of the self, also a strong component of the feeling of alienation.

Koenig, Swanson and Harter (1981) found that anomia, closely linked with alienation, was found mostly in the lower classes of society. As a defence reaction to this alienation and to the lack of power in their class, they found there was an

avoidance of thinking about the future. When one's 'tomorrows' do not look good, living for the 'todays' thus presents itself as a practicable solution for a happy life.

The three factors of lower socioeconomic status, low self-esteem, and youth are also well known to be closely linked in the late twentieth century with unemployment (e.g., Argyle, 1987, 1992; Farrington, 1995; Ullah, 1988). Farrington (1995) has even included employment instability within the definition of teenage antisocial behaviour. It is not difficult to identify the relationship between the four factors. Those who exist within the lower socioeconomic zone typically have low employment rates. For the young people who have grown up in this environment, the awareness of their poor employment prospects and its future implications can be difficult to cope with, leading to feelings of lowered self-worth. Thus, unemployment and low self-esteem become a function of each other in a vicious circle, alienating the individual from successful competition in society.

Psychological alienation scales often emphasise or operationalise individual dimensions of alienation rather than all of them. For example, Srole's (1956) Anomia Scale focuses largely on the normlessness aspect described by Seeman (1991). However, a question is raised here; if most scales predominantly measure only one of the six aspects of alienation, how can a complete diagnosis of alienation be made, as it is in studies that use these scales (e.g., Hamm, 1993)? The simple answer is that alienation can occur in one or all of the six facets. It is merely to what degree. Thus, a person who falls into every category as measured by the corresponding scales can be considered to be profoundly alienated.

It must also be noted however, that Schmitt (1983) states there is widespread agreement between social scientists over the fact that in order to be alienated, people must feel alienated. This is similar to the notion of people needing to feel depressed in order to be diagnosed as suffering from depression. It appears to be a plausible theory, as the idea of alienation as measured by social science depends on the self-report of respondents. If they are alienated they will answer the questions as such.

Nevertheless, Schmitt (1983) goes on to suggest that it is naive to limit the definitions of alienation to those individuals who are aware of their condition, because self-deception is itself one form of alienation. If people do not believe themselves to be alienated they will not answer the questions in the appropriate manner. This is also credible, but is possibly a criticism of the effectiveness of the measuring instruments' abilities to covertly extract the incidence of alienation, rather than the unsophistication of the scientists' definitions. If it is not available now, it may be theoretically possible one day to devise an alienation scale in which the respondent is unable to deceive themselves or therefore the investigator.

Schmitt's (1983) arguments overlook the idea that alienated people may even want to be alienated. For example, some of those who join an anti-social subculture have a vested interest in the exaggeration of their feelings of alienation and the circumstances surrounding it in order to justify their style of existence. Thus, ripped clothing and a dishevelled appearance may be deliberately maintained as a cloak or a protection against having to make an effort to increase their quality of life and

failing. Then there are other alienated individuals within a subculture who may not have this interest, and be struggling to integrate into society.

Alienated people, whether in a subculture or not, represent the extremes of problems, feelings and conditions that affect everyone in society at one time or the other. Although alienation is linked with lower socio-economic status, it can be a component of anyone's psycho-social make-up. For example, Roberts' (1987) study found alienation in employed men, regardless of social class. As such a widespread phenomenon, connected with many negative feelings of being a member in this society, the concept of alienation needs to investigate and explore the boundaries of alienation. From this point, it may be possible to examine the causes and effects of alienation in order to develop preventative and treatment strategies.

1.1.1 Delinquency, Deviancy and Subcultures: Delinquency can be defined as the infringements of a wide variety of legal and social norms (Abercrombie et al., 1988). Nowadays, the term is interchanged with juvenile delinquency, meaning that, as with alienation, it has been applied to a large extent to youth.

Psychologically, delinquency has been accounted for in terms of an individual's incapacity to experience remorse, failure to develop conditioned anxiety, retarded moral reasoning and poor social skills (Reicher & Emler, 1985). In contrast to these "deficit models," Reicher and Emler (1985) proposed that, similar to alienation, delinquency is a result of the negative relationship between the young person and conventional society. Also illustrating this relationship, delinquency has been

described as “the product of anomie” and as “an expression of opposition to dominant values and social inequality (Abercrombie et al., 1988).” Most sociological theories explain juvenile delinquency in terms of the organisation of urban gangs, delinquent subcultures, and the limitations on opportunity for working class males and deprived social groups (Abercrombie et al., 1988).

Deviancy can be defined with respect to delinquency as the successful completion of the process of development of deviant youth (Abercrombie et al., 1988). Anti-social actions result in stigmatisation and social isolation. To cope with these, an individual may find solace and support in the membership of a deviant subculture. The ensuing negative social reaction to this subcultural membership may involve the redefinition of the self in ways that promote further deviance, leading to the acceptance of a deviant role. Matza (1964, 1969) coined the term ‘delinquent drift’ to refer to the redefinition of legal and moral norms by delinquent youth as inapplicable, irrelevant or unimportant (Abercrombie et al., 1988). Thus, an individual becomes alienated from society.

This whole process appears to be related to a desperate need for successful identity formation. Clark (1992) writes: “Because a sense of belonging and self-identity is central to the adolescent experience, feeling alienated and unwanted may severely compromise psychosocial development.” Likewise, Erikson (1968) believes that the stage of psychosocial development that initiates identity formation occurs primarily in adolescence and young adulthood, involving a crisis in which successful identity formation may or may not occur. Alienation from society and/or

estrangement from the self are blocks to forming a complete identity in that people will not have sufficient knowledge of themselves nor be able to identify a place for themselves within society. In this respect, social and self alienation go hand in hand.

Seeman (1959) recognised the importance of further research into the conditions that produce alienation and the impact that it has on the society and individual. One likely response to a feeling of alienation is to search for a similar group of people. This has the obvious benefit of relieving the feeling of not belonging with anyone or to anywhere. For most youth, this may mean joining a sports team, a hobby club or social club, or in more severe circumstances, an anti-social subculture such as a form of street gang. It is normal during adolescent development to experiment with socially deviant roles and counter-cultural values and activities (Seifert & Hoffnung, 1987). However, deviant adolescent subcultures are beyond mere experimentation. The individuals that step away from conventional society to becoming members of such a subculture are likely to be alienated in such a way that a return to a more conventional and healthy lifestyle is difficult.

Youth subcultures have been seen by social scientists as a consequence of the creation of the developmental stage of adolescence. Before the industrial revolution children and adolescents were seen as miniature adults who could manage their share of the work (Sinason, 1985). Now, they are overabundant and inexperienced, and as a result, are the first casualties in the job hunt. Hence, anti-social subcultures may be regarded as defensive reactions to limited social opportunities by young, predominantly male adolescents (Abercrombie et al., 1988). A subculture offers its

members compensation and even explanation for their self-perceived failure in society. That said, Sinason (1985), in a study of British subcultural groups feels that members of named subcultures are more vulnerable than most youth: “They need to belong to groups to gain some sense of self and have little ability to bear private time or an individual relationship.” Subcultures can offer a system of meaning and organisation that is comprehensible to individuals who cannot fit into the normal life of their family or peers.

Cloward and Ohlin (1960) categorised three areas within which subcultures predominantly lie: criminal (concerned with making money through illegal means), conflict (concerned with violence), and retreatist (preoccupied with illicit drugs) (Abercrombie et al., 1988). Most deviant subcultures are concerned to some extent with all three of these areas, and sometimes predominantly with two of them. It can thus be seen that alienation propels individuals towards an anti-social subcultural lifestyle that accentuates and perpetuates further alienation.

1.2 Skinheads

One alienated subculture that can principally be termed retreatist and concerned with violence is skinheadism (Chapman, 1994; Clark, 1973a&b; Hasselbach, 1996; Knight, 1982; Macnab, 1994; Moore, 1990; Moore, 1993; Shall & Low, 1988; Spoonley, 1987a, 1994). There has been criminal trouble involving deviant subcultures in New Zealand, and lately, this trouble has also involved the skinheads in Christchurch. Their overt displays of racism, drunken criminal behaviour, violent confrontations with the homies, and attacks on tourists have had a great deal of

portrayal in the South Island media since 1993 (see also Appendix I - Skinhead History). Adding to this 'publicity' was the advent of the Christchurch based New Way Trust, a skinhead intervention effort headed by Kyle Chapman, a skinhead who publicly confessed to violent racial crime in an effort to pay his debt to society before working for society.

Skinheads are usually young men, typically aged between 14 and 26 years, who are identified primarily by their appearance, their music, their racist beliefs and their violent lifestyle. Skinheads have always seen themselves as working class heroes (Chapman, 1994; Knight, 1982), but they can be more aptly described as alienated caricatures of the traditional working class male. Since their beginnings in the slum areas of the East End of London in the mid to late 1960s, they have taken the working class appearance of the labouring man to extremes.

New Zealand skinheads are based heavily on the British originals. Their appearance is tough and menacing; the style of dress typically consisting of jeans, rolled up to the top of Doc Marten or army boots, t-shirts often displaying racist, fascist, violent or satanic images and slogans, and tattoos displaying an array of the same type of images. Perhaps, however, the most important way to define skinheads is if they define themselves as such.

Tattooing is a significant feature of the skinhead lifestyle. Sinason (1985) wrote that when the groups spoke of the future it did not include gang life, but that tattooed skins were different: "They wanted the names and symbols of their loved and hated

ones to be painfully pierced through their skins for ever. They wanted their allegiances to last longer than could realistically be hoped for, out of a terror of not otherwise being held together..." Sinason believes this is because the skinheads were not aware of the end of their adolescence and of their subcultural existence, as all the other groups were. Thus, skinheadism, as opposed to other subcultures does not seem to be a temporary adolescent phase.

Skinheads are very much 'into' their music. It is an integral part of their lifestyle, and depending on their particular brand of skinheadism, it represents their beliefs and resentments (Hamm, 1993; Hasselbach, 1996; Knight, 1982; Spoonley, 1987). White power or Nazi skinheads will listen to white power rock. This is a highly effective means of communicating racist propaganda and intensity of feelings and songs such as 'Nigger Nigger' and 'Dead Paki in a Gutter,' reveal the extent of their alienation (Hamm, 1993). Most skinheads, regardless of their beliefs, listen to a loud, thrashy style of music called 'Oi!' that represents chaos, excessive drinking and drug taking, violence, and fighting against the system. This is clearly the music of a group of individuals who revel in their estrangement from society.

Seeman (1959) noted that ethnic prejudice within the skinhead community has been described as a response to alienation. That is, as an ideology that makes an incomprehensible world intelligible by imposing upon that world a simplified categorisation system. Typically, skinheads are racist with the extreme end of this scale represented by white power and neo-Nazi skinheads (Hamm, 1993; Hasselbach, 1996). Hamm's (1993) book, *United States Skinheads: The*

Criminology and Control of Hate Crime, investigated the phenomenon of United States white power skinheadism and its wider neo-Nazi links. He found that even at the neo-Nazi end of skinhead subculture there were extremists that could be characterised as terrorists due to their “overt racism, political violence, and links to a homologous international subculture of neo-Nazism (Hamm, p65).” There are non-racist skinheads in America (Jackson, 1993), New Zealand, and presumably the rest of the world, although this is not the impression of stereotypical skinheadism.

In spite of skinheads tending towards a particular style of skinheadism, usually consisting of degrees of purported racism or non-racism, most in New Zealand, England and Europe do not have a coherent belief system or philosophy (Burr, 1984; Chapman, 1994; Hasselbach, 1996; Macnab, 1994). Macnab (1994) in a study of white power skinheads in Christchurch, New Zealand writes: “Despite the venomous way the youth... expressed their views, most had very little knowledge of what they were going on about.” Chapman (1994) supports this, writing on skinhead racism, “very few of them know why and most don’t care why. They just want to hate what is different.”

Skinhead groups, or ‘crews’, like the individuals that comprise them are of a highly alienated nature. When the skinheads come together, they may indulge in criminal activities that each would not do on their own such as destroying the flats they live in, or intimidating and fighting members of the public or other subcultures (Chapman, 1994; Hasselbach, 1996). Thus, such anti-social activities serve to create a further sense of alienation between members of the community and skinheads.

However, they are more likely to fight amongst themselves. The nature of skinhead groups is that they are continually forming and disbanding, often involving violent break-ups (Chapman, 1994; Hasselbach, 1996). Spoonley (1987a) also sheds light on this situation in his book on neo-Fascism in New Zealand, illustrating how Christchurch based neo-fascist groups do not band together well, with much infighting and splitting up of groups. Reasons for the break-ups include the constant personal evolution of each individuals' skinhead identity, based on an uninformed bed of dogma, and major feelings of distrust, incorporating authority and extending to other skinheads. Again, this behaviour can also be seen to increase the sense of alienation within skinheads because of the lack of a stable group identity.

Generally, skinheads represent the extreme of racist attitudes in New Zealand. Visibly and vocally apparent, they personify anti-foreigner feelings that the public are happy to view as wrong. However, Paul Spoonley (1987b), New Zealand author and lecturer on the topic of extreme right wing politics, proposed that the attention skinheads receive may be a "comfortable focus that avoids examining more central forms of racism (p105)." He states that "their message would seem to have some resonance amongst those working class who are facing a difficult economic future and who identify the decline of possibilities with the increase in attention to biculturalism (p106)." In 1987, it was the growing awareness of Maori issues in Pakeha society that was threatening to Pakeha (the Maori term for Europeans). In the 1990's, it is the added 'threat' from the immigration of Asians and Pacific Islanders. He went on to suggest, though, that even if skinheads are being scapegoated, the violent and threatening anti-social behaviour of the skinheads must

be taken seriously for what it is. There are victims of this abuse who do not see what is happening as a 'comfortable focus'.

Being a skinhead in Europe and America has become a precursor to becoming fanatically and dangerously neo-Nazi (Hamm, 1993; Hasselbach, 1996). This wide scale activity has the potential to occur in New Zealand as well, given the public controversy over the immigration of Asians and Pacific Islanders, and the Treaty of Waitangi claims of the Maori. These are not issues that are limited to skinheads. The 'ordinary' members of the New Zealand public hold strong opinions on these topics, and often they are not positive. In spite of the prevalence of skinheadism in New Zealand and the trouble and concerns connected with it, there is very little research with skinheads, and nothing on how skinheads relate to the concept of alienation. This study intends to bring the relationship between skinheads and alienation into focus.

1.3 Skinheadism in the United States

As noted, in 1993, Mark S. Hamm published a book entitled *American Skinheads: The Criminology and Control of Hate Crime* that sought to make an in-depth study of the problem of racist skinheadism in the United States. In doing so, he also examined skinheadism from a variety of sources and countries, that did not include New Zealand skinheads. In this extremely well-formulated and influential research effort Hamm identified several themes characteristic of United States skinheadism. Briefly stated, these themes are:

1. During the 1980's, the number of skinheads increased dramatically primarily due to the efforts of famous the United States neo-Nazi, Tom Metzger, to circulate neo-Nazi propaganda and music and network the subsequent neo-Nazi and skinhead groups via a variety of mediums. There were also a myriad of causal processes; peer group pressure, alcohol use, and economic marginalisation featuring largely.

2. Neo-Nazi skinheads are readily capable of extreme violence because they feel they are fighting for the survival of their race and defending their country against non-whites.

3. Neo-Nazi skinheads are not alienated from mainstream society. Rather, the neo-Nazi skinheads appear to be "socially integrated and well shielded from the extreme levels of bitterness and social estrangement noted by scholars in their analyses of urban minority gangs (p166)." Mainly, the skinheads are "well bonded to their parents and teachers. They are often employed and achieve high self-images within their own highly conventional subcultural family units. Like all families throughout history, this one values childbirth, respect for parents, and love of the family circle. Moreover, the skinheads are well-bonded to conventional systems. There is nothing deviant about this at all (p194)."

4. Neo-Nazi skinheads represent an organised, national movement with a clearly developed political consciousness.

Hamm came to three major conclusions regarding alienation. Within the neo-Nazi skinheads he studied, he compared the group he characterised as terrorists to those characterised as non-terrorists and concluded that because there was no difference in alienation between the two groups, alienation plays no part in the formation of a terrorist youth subculture. Secondly, Hamm compared alienation to neo-Nazi beliefs and found that there was no statistical association. He extended this line of reasoning to conclude that therefore, there was no reason to believe that alienation played a role in the development of skinhead norms. Although it must be assumed that Hamm was referring exclusively to racist skinheadism, there was no non-skinhead control group used to validate this assumption. It begs the question of how alienated skinheads are compared to individuals within conventional society. This is what is to be examined in this study.

As already noted, Schmitt (1983) states people must feel alienated in order to be alienated. The reason why Hamm's neo-Nazi skinhead group were not alienated, then, is likely to be because they saw themselves as the last line of defence for white America and therefore as not alienated from that society. Rather than not identifying with the dominant United States culture, they saw themselves as its epitome, expounding strict, moral family values that only differ from the purported values of the stereotypical white United States family when it comes to abuse of racial or moral minorities. They were fanatical enough in their beliefs to want to integrate themselves into society by way of education and employment in order to fight the system from that angle, from the inside out. Indeed, this is a method of infiltration into conventional society that is utilised by neo-Nazis (Hasselbach, 1996).

1.3.1 Cross-Cultural Comparison between New Zealand and United States

Skinheads: Despite being superficially similar in nature, United States skinhead culture is thought to be quite different from the skinhead culture in New Zealand (Spoonley, 1994), and Hamm's conclusion of non-alienation is at odds with a portrait of the New Zealand skinhead in the literature (e.g., Chapman, 1994; Macnab, 1994; Payne, 1991). This literature describes skinheads as belonging nowhere, hating the social and political systems, having had unhappy childhoods, as victims of abuse, constantly in and out of jail and the courts, tending to be drug and alcohol dependent, belonging to very violent and volatile peer groups, unemployed, and predominantly racist.

"I joined the skinheads because they're a positive youth culture. I used to be into all kinds of drugs, and really depressed. Now I'm into white power, and I'm gettin' As in school and I got a girlfriend. (Hamm, 1993)"

This quote from one of Hamm's participants illustrates the presumed differences between Hamm's skinheads and New Zealand skinheads. The lives of many of the skinheads in New Zealand can be described by the pre-white power life of the individual quoted above; namely, drugs, depression, and by inference, all the related ills, such as low self-esteem, unemployment, or dropping out from school. Therein lies the main differences between United States and New Zealand skinheads. From impressions and data gained through interviews and the literature (Chapman, 1994; Macnab, 1994; Spoonley, 1987a), skinheadism in New Zealand appears to have a

direct relationship with unemployment, juvenile delinquency, and an unfulfilled need for self-esteem and identity. Furthermore, these factors have been shown to have a direct relationship with alienation (De Mann et al., 1987; Koenig et al., 1981). In the United States, however, skinheadism is seen by Hamm's participants as salvation from these vices, providing direction and development in their lives. A number of differences in the experiences and lifestyles of the two groups may explain the dichotomy.

First and foremost, Hamm was only studying racist skinheads, who happened to be a relatively well educated and employed subgroup within the overall concept of skinheadism that incorporates all varieties of skinheads. However, in this study, the participant group was made up of all manner of individuals within the skinhead lifestyle, including ex-skinheads and white power. Thus, Hamm's participants were members of an 'elite' group of racist skinheads that differ from the general skinhead group of this study.

The question now arises as to what factors characterise the alienation experienced by New Zealand skinheads. That is, whether skinheads in this country are unique in their alienation or a subset of a larger, more global counterculture. In New Zealand, skinheadism is a youth off-shoot of the working class culture. Spoonley (1994) explained; "[New Zealand] skinheads reflect the dislocation and anxiety faced by urban working class Pakeha in the 1990s." For youth, to a large extent this specifically points to unemployment and other related social deficits such as truancy and delinquency. Like the English skinheads, they are a caricature of their class

background. While the London skinheads of the late 1960's would likely have been employed proud as they were of their working class heritage, the local skinheads of the 1990's are not (Macnab, 1994), consistent with the New Zealand lower socioeconomic group. Thus, it is likely that New Zealand skinheads are the 'tip of the iceberg' in terms of alienation within the larger group of unemployed, 'working class' males.

Opposed to this, United States skinheads, or at least the neo-Nazi variety that were studied by Hamm (1993) look to be occupy a higher socioeconomic niche. Hamm found that 26.5% of the skinheads he interviewed held white collar jobs, 58.8% were involved in blue collar employment, while only five of his participants (14.7%) were unemployed. Taking into account younger skinheads and their education rather than employment status, Hamm found that 27.8% of his skinheads group were enrolled in college and 11.1% were still at high school.

The fact that computers and the internet were used by Hamm (1993) as a participant recruitment technique is a further indication of the socioeconomic differences between United States and New Zealand skinheads. New Zealand skinheads who do not live at home often can not afford even to have phone lines, let alone the money, the family background, or the education and knowledge to have access to computers and the internet.

The differences in employment, educational and economic status imply a class difference between Hamm's United States group of white power skinheads and the

general population of New Zealand skinheads composed of many varieties. It is well known that the 'working' class of the 1990's are, in ironically, the group with one of the least chances of obtaining employment. Thus, it appears that one of the differences between the United States skinhead group and the New Zealand group is socioeconomic. The United States skinheads described by Hamm appear to be of a higher socioeconomic status.

United States and New Zealand skinheads do not only appear to differ in terms of class. They also differ in the outlook of their extreme right wing ideology, namely white power, or neo-Nazism. According to Hamm, white power in America is seen as being a positive youth culture but in New Zealand the general impression given by the literature is that skinheadism is little more than a scattered collection of rejected, confused, abused, alcoholic drug abusers looking for someone to blame and hate (Chapman, 1994; Macnab, 1994). Their right wing beliefs do not give them direction and promise, but rather, are a result and expression of their bitterness, beliefs against society and the "system", lack of self-esteem and lack of control over their lives.

Related is the amount of knowledge of their beliefs and philosophies. This could also be seen as the difference in fanaticism between the two groups. As noted, it has been found that skinheads in New Zealand, Britain and Europe do not generally know a great deal of facts concerning the background of the racist dogma they are expounding. Mostly, it is catch phrases learned from white power rock songs and racist propaganda, and small anecdotal stories that form the basis of their belief

systems. In contrast, Hamm's group of United States skinheads are well researched on racist, Nazi and neo-Nazi concepts, having access to an extensive network of literature and racist propaganda via magazines called 'fanzines,' e-mail and the internet.

Group coherence amongst Hamm's (1993) group was relatively high with most participants reporting low subcultural conflict (61%), thirty nine per cent reporting moderate conflict and none reporting high conflict (p169). As already noted, compared to this, New Zealand skinheads have a low record of group coherence, and spend more time fighting themselves than anyone else.

Another comparison between United States and New Zealand skinheads can be made concerning drug use. The white power skinheads of Hamm's study did not take drugs, whereas the level of drug abuse within skinheadism in New Zealand is reported to be extremely high (Chapman, personal communication, 1995; Macnab, 1994).

In terms of alcohol, however, there was one similarity between the two styles. Although Hamm's white power skinhead group did not tend to drink hard spirits, 'terrorist' United States skinheads purportedly used alcohol, specifically beer, to go 'berserk' and commit violent racially based crime (Hamm, 1993). According to Kyle Chapman (personal communication, 1995), the use and abuse of alcohol and other intoxicants is one of the fuels that drive the hate and crime of the skinhead

scene in New Zealand. In Australia too, heavy alcoholic drinking is the norm amongst skinheads (Moore, 1990).

There also appears to be a difference in the family backgrounds of the participants of the two groups. According to Lewis, Mallouh and Webb (1989) there is clearly an association between childhood abuse and subsequent antisocial, aggressive acts. In fact, a long term study on 1265 New Zealand children showed that many delinquent youth came from seriously dysfunctional and disorganised home environments (Fergusson, Horwood & Lynskey, 1994). Related to subcultures, in an article including British skinheads, Sinason (1985) wrote that young people who give themselves up to a cult have deprivation as a common experience. This corresponds with a British study of skinheads and punks in which the skinheads interviewed came from “extremely disrupted and delinquent backgrounds (Burr, 1984).” In agreement, reports suggest that there is an overwhelmingly high rate of unhappy or abusive childhoods among New Zealand skinheads (Macnab, 1994; Chapman, 1994). Sinason (1985) also writes that the more depressed and deprived the subgroup, the greater the resort to physical violence as a way of feeling some sense of identity. It is explained that because of their deprived background, skinheads have an anger about the theft of their happy childhood. It is blamed on their parents, and presumably on all authority.

Sinason (1985) also believes that as a result of their deprived or abused backgrounds, skinheads become who and what they are as a defence mechanism. They are protecting their ‘inner’ selves by being able to attribute their abandonment

by family or society to their appearance. To be rejected for one's appearance is less painful than being rejected for one's self, even if it is complained about by the individual, for example, in the case of deep rejection by family. There is another facet to this theory: The wish of skinheads to be seen for who they truly are and to be loved despite outward appearance, when outward appearance is chosen to be both repellent and threatening. This carries economically within the one action both defiance and hope, individuality and conformity. It is not surprising, then, that outward appearance is such a strong feature of adolescent lifestyle in general and subculture lifestyle in particular.

Opposing these studies, only three of 36 of Hamm's group (8.3%) experienced "childhood feelings of extreme hopelessness (p116)," Hamm's indicator of childhood stress. It seems clear then, that childhood abuse and/or deprivation is also an area of contrast between the United States and New Zealand skinhead groups.

Thus, United States skinheads tended not to come from unhappy homes or experience social disabilities related to education and unemployment. Moreover, Hamm found that, for the most part, his participants were well-bonded to their parents and teachers, enjoyed conventional family life and abstained from drugs. He could not have described an opposing picture of New Zealand or English skinheads more aptly.

The results of a study such as this one are potentially worrying to New Zealand society. Non-alienated skinheads, according to Hamm (1993) feel powerful and

have meaning in their lives as violent, racist terrorists who are connected to an international neo-Nazi network. On the other hand, if New Zealand skinheads are alienated as the skinhead ‘experts’ and previous literature already suggest, they would be socially isolated, distrustful, self-estranged and culturally-estranged individuals with feelings of powerlessness and meaninglessness. This is not a happy prognosis for the human beings concerned, but it does mean that there is a lesser chance of the violent, internationally connected activities that occur in the United States happening here.

1.4 Specific Concerns of Study

The hypothesis of this study is that New Zealand skinheads, as contrasted to United States skinheads studied by Hamm (1993), would perceive themselves to be alienated from their society. The rationale for this hypothesis is firstly that Hamm examined only the fanatical racist skinheads, who do not consider themselves alienated from their society, but rather as the epitome of their white culture. In this study, all manner of people within the skinhead lifestyle participated, including those who are members of the subculture for reasons of alienation alone. Secondly, the skinheads in Hamm’s study appear to be of a slightly higher socioeconomic group than the ‘working class’ New Zealand skinheads. This would have an effect on the alienation because according to Koenig et al (1981) alienation is significantly associated with lower social status. Thirdly, when the social circumstances of the two groups are compared, it can be seen that the United States skinheads tend to have led a ‘healthier’ life style in terms of attendance at school or college, employment and unabusive backgrounds. This is directly contradictory to the

evidence (Chapman, 1994; Macnab, 1994) concerning the New Zealand skinheads who were described as either in institutions or unemployed, and who tended to come from abusive or deprived backgrounds.

This hypothesis was examined using the same scale used by Hamm; that is, Srole's (1956a) generalised anomia scale. Srole developed this measure from Durkheim's (1897) concept of anomie or normlessness. Srole, however, expanded the concept of anomia beyond the single construct of normlessness to represent the psychological condition of a person alienated from society. This is why Hamm (1993) and others have utilised Srole's anomia scale to measure successfully alienation in various social groups within society; for example, Koenig et al (1981) who examined alienation and social class, and Abrahamson (1980) who looked at anomie within lottery winners.

More recently, Jessor and Jessor (1977) have also constructed a scale designed to measure alienation by examining uncertainty about both the meaningfulness of daily roles and activities as well as a belief that one is isolated from others. It corresponds highly with several other alienation scales such as Rotter's I-E (1967), and self-esteem (Seeman, 1991). His scale was included in this study as a comparison scale of alienation for the Srole (1956) anomia scale. In the case of Srole's (1956) scale producing a negative result in this study as well as in Hamm's (1993) research, Jessor and Jessor's (1977) scale would test whether it is because Srole's (1956) scale is inappropriate to skinheads or not.

Open-ended interviews with skinheads were also conducted for the purpose of evaluating the efficiency, effects and extent of the work of the New Way Trust, a skinhead outreach group initiated by a reformed skinhead. In the interviews, questions were asked concerning skinhead culture, philosophies and lifestyles. The information gained from these was used to supplement and validate the findings from the alienation scales.

2. METHOD

2.1 Participants

Twenty-five individuals who characterised themselves as skinheads comprised the primary group of participants. These individuals had an average age of 23.8 years and had identified themselves as being skinheads for an average of 8.7 years. Fourteen of these individuals were imprisoned or detained at the time of the interview while the remaining 11 participants were unemployed. Four of the participants were female.

These participants were contacted as part of an evaluation study of the New Way Trust skinhead outreach group initiated by a reformed skinhead. A full account of the history of the Trust can be found at Appendix II. The evaluation involved gauging the effects and extent of the work of the Trust. It sought to find out if the Trust was operating to the standards that it had proposed.

“The Trust was launched with the particular intention of initiating and operating employment projects and rehabilitation programmes for skinheads in Canterbury (Chapman, 1995a). More specifically, the New Way Trust has six key areas in which it has been focusing:

1. The development of life skills, involving facilitating the attendance of skinheads at courses that teach such skills as driving, literacy and numeracy, flatting skills, sexual education and personal development.

2. The reduction of substance abuse.
3. Assisting skinheads towards mainstream employment.
4. Networking with Government and relevant agencies.
5. Facilitation for those wishing to leave the skinhead community. This applies only to those who wish to make a genuine unpressured decision to leave (from the *Co-ordinator/Outreach Youth Worker Business Plan*, by the New Way Trust, 1994).

The evaluation was carried out through semi-structured interviews with clients of the Trust (predominantly skinheads), the Trust workers, Trustees, and agency and City Council contacts of the Trust. The skinhead group interviews also involved questions about skinhead culture and lifestyle in order to gain an understanding of who are the skinhead. This was for the benefit of the New Way Trust and this study. The document was completed by September, 1995.

A second group of participants, comprised of University of Canterbury students of ages similar to those of the skinhead participants, was recruited to serve as a comparison group. The average age of these individuals was 23.3 years.

2.2 Materials and Procedures

2.2.1 The Questionnaire: Participants were asked to fill out a questionnaire that was made up of Jessor and Jessor's (1977) generalised alienation scale and two versions of Srole's (1956) anomia scale. Both were used in to determine if there was to be any major differences in alienation scores between the two versions. The second version of Srole's (1956) scale had four more items than the first, totalling

nine items. Jessor and Jessor's (1977) had 15 items, bringing the total to 24. For convenience, the scales were presented together as one questionnaire. The participants were not told that the questionnaire measured alienation. Rather, participants were asked to indicate their agreement or disagreement with a series of questions that “. . . are designed to assess feelings individuals have concerning different aspects of their lives”. For a complete text of the Alienation Questionnaire, see Appendix III.

2.2.2 The Interviews: The skinhead participants also answered a series of questions designed to assess their satisfaction with the New way Trust as well as to assess their individual characteristics. The questions covered such topics as childhood abuse and neglect, beliefs and behaviours within skinheadism, some personal demographic details, their knowledge and attitudes towards the New Way Trust, and their willingness to participate in courses that the Trust might be offering. The complete text of the interview questions may be found in Appendix IV.

These skinheads participants were interviewed at Paparua Prison, Kingsley Young Persons' home, the offices of the New Way Trust, and in the residences. Because of their length, all interviews were taped.

3. RESULTS

3.1 Alienation and Anomia scales

Although all of the skinhead participants completed the interview part of the study, only 20 of the 25 skinhead participants completed the questionnaire. Therefore, only the questionnaire data available from those 20 individuals (plus the data from the 20 university students who served as a control group) were analysed initially.

Table 1. Mean level of alienation in the Skinhead and University Students (control) groups as measured on the Jessor and Jessor (1977) generalised alienation scale*

<u>Skinhead Group</u>	<u>University Student Group</u>
40.3	38.6

* This measure consisted of 15 statements that the participant indicated his agreement or disagreement with by means of a 5-point Likert-scale. The scores on this measure ranged from a low of 15 to a high of 75.

Analysis of the skinhead and control groups' data from the Jessor and Jessor (1977) generalised alienation scale are presented in Table 1. These data represent the two groups' mean level of alienation from society, with higher numbers

representing greater levels of alienation. These data were analysed with a t-test that found no significant differences between the two groups, $t(38) = .80, p>.05$.

Table 2. Mean level of alienation in the Skinhead and University Students (control) groups as measured on the Srole (1956a) anomia scale*

<u>Skinhead Group</u>	<u>University Student Group</u>
17.3	14.0

* This measure consisted of 5 statements that the participant indicated his agreement or disagreement with by means of a 5-point Likert-scale. The scores on this measure ranged from a low of 5 to a high of 25.

The participants' data from Srole's (1956a) anomia scale are presented in Table 2. These data represent the skinhead and university student groups' mean level of anomia or alienation. These data were also analysed with a t-test that found the skinhead group to show significantly greater levels of anomia, or normlessness, than the university students control group, $t(38) = 2.61, p<.05$.

Table 3. Mean level of alienation in the Skinhead and University Students (control) groups as measured on the Srole (1956b) anomia scale*

<u>Skinhead Group</u>	<u>University Student Group</u>
29.8	23.8

* This measure consisted of 9 statements that the participant indicated his agreement or disagreement with by means of a 5-point Likert-scale. The scores on this measure ranged from a low of 9 to a high of 45.

Additionally, participants filled out Srole's (1956b) longer version of the anomia scale. Although Hamm (1993) used the original shorter version, the longer version was added to this study as a means of further testing the alienation of the participant group. The mean scores of the skinhead and university students groups are presented in Table 3. Analysis of these data again showed the skinhead group to have higher levels of anomia than the university Students, $t(37) = 3.38$, $p < .01$.

The skinhead group was split into those who followed white power beliefs and those who did not define themselves as following white power. Hamm (1993) examined only racist skinheads in his study and concluded that they were not alienated. Therefore, this division helps make a more direct comparison with that study. The reasoning is that it may be the high alienation scores of the non-racist skinheads that are making the white power skinheads of New Zealand appear alienated. Perhaps the racist skinheads of this study are not alienated, thus supporting the conclusions in Hamm's (1993) study. The skinheads who stated that they supported Maori being in New Zealand but not other non-European races, the 'New Zealand for New Zealanders' skinheads, were categorised as non-white power.

Table 4. Mean level of alienation in the White Power Group and University Students (control) group as measured on the Jessor and Jessor (1977) generalised alienation scale*

<u>Non-White Power Group</u>	<u>White Power Skinhead Group</u>	<u>University Student</u>
<u>Group</u>		
39.8	40.6	38.6

* This measure consisted of 15 statements that the participant indicated his agreement or disagreement with by means of a 5-point Likert-scale. The scores on this measure ranged from a low of 15 to a high of 75.

The data for these three groups of participants are presented in Table 4 and represent their mean scores. Analysis of these data showed no difference between the scores of the three groups, $F(2,37) = .33, p>.05$.

Table 5. Mean level of alienation in the Racist Group and University Students (control) group as measured on the Srole (1956a) anomia scale*

<u>Non-White Power Group</u>	<u>White Power Skinhead Group</u>	<u>University Student</u>
<u>Group</u>		
16.3	17.9	14.0

* This measure consisted of 5 statements that the participant indicated his agreement or disagreement with by means of a 5-point Likert-scale. The scores on this measure ranged from a low of 5 to a high of 25.

Table 6. Mean level of anomia in the Racist Skinhead group and University Students (control) group as measured on the Srole (1956b) anomia scale*

<u>Non-White Power Group</u>	<u>White Power Skinhead Group</u>	<u>University Student</u>
<u>Group</u>		
27.7	31.5	23.8

* This measure consisted of 9 statements that the participant indicated his agreement or disagreement with by means of a 5-point Likert-scale. The scores on this measure ranged from a low of 9 to a high of 45.

The data from the two versions of the Srole scale (1956a,b) are presented in Tables 5 and 6. These data represented the white power and non-white power skinheads' and the university student participants' mean levels of perceived anomia, or alienation. Analyses revealed significant differences between the groups in both the original and extended scales, $F(2,36) = 7.32, p<.01$ and $F(2,37) = 3.82, p<.05$, respectively.

Previous research has shown that the expressions of estrangement and hostility can be traced back to childhood abuse and neglect (Mueller & Silverman, 1989).

Furthermore, it has been shown that while not all abused children become criminal, a high proportion of delinquents, particularly violent delinquents, have been severely abused (Lewis et al., 1989). The racist skinhead participants were therefore divided into those who professed to have been abused and those who did not to see if that link was also found in this group of typically violent, criminal skinheads.

Table 7. Mean level of alienation in the Skinhead group as a function of racism and abuse as measured on the Jessor and Jessor (1977) generalised alienation scale*

ABUSED AS A CHILD			
		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
RACIST	<u>Yes</u>	41.3	39.6
PHILOSOPHY	<u>No</u>	43.5	29.0

* This measure consisted of 15 statements that the participant indicated his agreement or disagreement with by means of a 5-point Likert-scale. The scores on this measure ranged from a low of 15 to a high of 75.

Table 8. Mean level of alienation in the Skinhead group as a function of racism and abuse as measured on the Srole (1956b) anomia scale*

ABUSED AS A CHILD			
		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
RACIST	<u>Yes</u>	30.5	32.8
PHILOSOPHY	<u>No</u>	29.0	22.5

* This measure consisted of 9 statements that the participant indicated his agreement or disagreement with by means of a 5-point Likert-scale. The scores on this measure ranged from a low of 9 to a high of 45.

Accordingly, the skinhead participants' data on both the Jessor and Jessor (1977) generalised alienation scale and the Srole (1956) anomia scale, presented in Tables 7 and 8, respectively, were both analysed with a two factor analysis of variance. Analysis of the participants' data from the Jessor and Jessor scale showed a significant main effect of abuse, $F(1, 16) = 8.65, p < .01$, and a significant interaction between the presence of abuse and the adoption of a racist philosophy, $F(1, 16) = 5.42, p < .05$, with skinheads who were neither racist nor had not been abused as a child showing lower levels of alienation. Similarly, results were found in the participants results on the Srole anomia scale with a significant main effect of abuse, $F(1, 15) = 5.76, p < .05$, and a marginally significant interaction between the presence of abuse and the adoption of a racist philosophy, $F(1, 15) = 3.20, p < .09$. Again, the skinheads who were not abused as children nor had adopted a racist philosophy had marginally significantly lower levels of anomia.

3.2 Skinheads' evaluations of themselves and the New Way trust

3.2.1 The Likert-Scale Questions

Although the analyses of the participants' data from both of the Srole measures of anomia clearly indicate the skinhead participants have high levels of anomia, or normlessness, the data alone do not give a clear picture of the nature of this

alienation. Therefore, the skinheads’ responses to the series of Likert-scale rating questions were examined in an effort to gain a better perspective regarding this alienation. The questions asked of the skinhead participants and their responses are presented in Table 9. These data represent the participants’ mean level of agreement on each of the Likert-scale questions.

Table 9. Mean level of participants’ agreement regarding Skinhead lifestyle questions, New Way Trust questions, and Personal Improvement Questions

Skinhead Lifestyle Questions

How important is your skinhead lifestyle to you?	4.7
[1 low importance - 5 high importance]	
Do you consider violence to be part of skinhead philosophy?	3.8
[1 low importance - 5 high importance]	
Do you consider racism to be part of skinhead philosophy?	4.0
[1 low importance - 5 high importance]	
Do you consider property crime to be part of skinhead philosophy?	2.6
[1 low importance - 5 high importance]	
How would you describe yourself in relation to alcohol usage?	3.5
[1 non user - 5 heavy user]	
How would you describe yourself in relation to drug usage?	3.1
[1 non user - 5 heavy user]	

How important is your family to you? 3.6

[1 not important at all - 5 very important]

New Way Trust Questions

How would you describe Kyle Chapman in his role as a skinhead youth worker?

3.8

[1 extremely ineffective - 5 extremely effective]

How important do you think his type of work is? 3.9

[1 low importance - 5 high importance]

Do you feel that Kyle Chapman can help you in any way? 3.2

[1 not at all - 5 -can help a lot]

Do you think your attitude to alcohol has changed since you
have known Kyle Chapman? 2.1

[1 no change - 5 great deal]

Do you think your attitude to drugs has changed since you
have known Kyle Chapman? 2.1

[1 no change - 5 great deal]

Personal Improvement Questions

Are you interested in attending courses on topics such as literacy
and numeracy? 2.1

[1 not interested -5 very interested]

Are you interested in attending courses on topics such as driving skills and licence?	4.4
[1 not interested -5 very interested]	
Are you interested in attending courses on topics such as flatting skills?	1.8
[1 not interested -5 very interested]	
Are you interested in attending courses on topics such as sexual education?	1.6
[1 not interested -5 very interested]	
Are you interested in attending courses on topics such as anger management?	2.3
[1 not interested -5 very interested]	
Are you interested in attending courses on topics such as cultural awareness?	1.6
[1 not interested -5 very interested]	

3.2.2 Correlations between Likert-scale questions as a function of presence of absence of childhood abuse and adoption of a white power philosophy: The data showing the mean level of participants’ agreement regarding skinhead lifestyle questions, New Way Trust questions, and personal improvement questions were reanalysed as before, with a two factor analysis of variance as a function of the presence or absence of abuse in the participant’s childhood and the adoption of a white power philosophy. The results of these analyses produced non-significant results in most cases. Three questions, however, did have significant or marginally

significant results. The data from these three questions are presented in Table 10. These data represent the participants’ mean level of agreement with each question.

Table 10. Mean level of agreement with Likert-scale questions showing significant differences between the participants.

“How important do you think his (Kyle Chapman - The New Way Trust Worker) is?”*

ABUSED AS A CHILD			
		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
RACIST	<u>Yes</u>	4.3	1.0
PHILOSOPHY	<u>No</u>	4.0	4.5

“Do you feel that Kyle Chapman can help you in any way?”*

ABUSED AS A CHILD			
		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
RACIST	<u>Yes</u>	3.4	1.5
PHILOSOPHY	<u>No</u>	4.0	3.0

“Are you interested in attending courses on topics such as driving skills and licence?”*

ABUSED AS A CHILD			
		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
RACIST	<u>Yes</u>	4.8	1.0
PHILOSOPHY	<u>No</u>	5.0	3.7

* Each of these scales was answered using a Likert-scale format with lower numbers indicating higher levels of disagreement.

Analyses of the data for the question “How important do you think his (Kyle Chapman - The New Way Trust Worker) is?” showed a significant interaction between the presence or absence of abuse and the adoption of a racist philosophy, $F(1, 17) = 4.97, p < .05$. Further, the data regarding the question “Do you feel that Kyle Chapman can help you in any way?” also showed a marginally significant interaction between the same two factors, $F(1, 19) = 3.14, p < .10$. Lastly, analyses of the data concerning the question “Are you interested in attending courses on topics such as driving skills and licence?” showed significant main effects of presence of abuse, $F(1, 13) = 14.09, p < .01$, adoption of a racist philosophy, $F(1, 13) = 4.50, p < .05$, as well as a marginally significant interaction, $F(1, 13) = 3.22, p < .10$. All other main effects in each analysis were non-significant. These results showed that for all three questions the skinhead participants who identified themselves as being racist but had not been abused found little about the New Way Trust or its worker to interest them. These skinheads were also more alienated.

3.2.3 Correlations between questions on aspects of skinhead lifestyle:

Initially a series of correlational analyses were performed on the question relating to skinhead philosophy or lifestyle. These analyses found a significant number of skinheads who agreed with the question “How much do you consider racism to be a part of skinhead philosophy or lifestyle?” also agreed with the statement “How much

do you consider violence to be a part of skinhead philosophy or lifestyle?”, $r = .473$, $F(1, 19) = 5.76$, $p < .05$.

Further, the question “How much do you consider property crime to be a part of skinhead philosophy or lifestyle?” was correlated with “How much do you consider violence to be a part of skinhead philosophy or lifestyle?”, $r = .467$, $F(1, 19) = 5.31$, $p < .05$., indicating that a significant number of skinheads who endorsed violence also endorsed property crime.

Correlational analyses also found a significant association between the question “How important is it to you to be a skinhead?” and the question “How much do you consider property crime to be a part of skinhead philosophy or lifestyle?”, $r = .468$, $F(1, 17) = 4.78$, $p < .05$, with individuals who found it of great importance to be a skinhead also finding it important to commit property crimes.

No other correlations between questions concerning skinhead lifestyle were found to be significant.

3.2.4 Correlations between questions on the efficacy of the New Way Trust:

Correlational analyses between the questions concerning the efficacy of the New Way Trust outreach worker, Kyle Chapman, found a marginally significant positive association between the question “Do you feel that Kyle Chapman can help you in any way?” and the question “How would you describe Kyle Chapman in his role as a skinhead youth worker?”, $r = .468$, $F(1, 12) = 3.08$, $p < .10$, with participants who had

a positive feeling about Kyle Chapman Chapman's role as a skinhead youth worker having similarly high attitudes towards Kyle Chapman Chapman's ability to help them.

Similarly, a significant correlation was found between the questions concerning "How would you describe Kyle Chapman in his role as a skinhead youth worker?" and the question "How important do you think Kyle Chapman Chapman's work is?", $r = .573$, $F(1, 18) = 8.79$, $p < .01$, with the skinheads who felt Chapman's work to be of importance also agreeing that he did a good job as a skinhead youth worker.

No other correlations between any of the questions relating to the participants opinions of Kyle Chapman or the New Way Trust were significant.

3.2.5 Correlations between questions concerning personal development: A final series of correlational analyses was performed to determine patterns of relationships between various personal development or self-improvement courses that might be offered to skinhead clients of the New Way Trust. Significant positive correlations were found between the desire to attend a skinhead cultural awareness course and interest in a course in flatting skills, $r = .701$, $F(1, 19) = 18.39$, $p < .01$, interest in a cultural awareness course and a sex education course, $r = .926$, $F(1, 21) = 125.43$, $p < .01$, and interest in a cultural awareness course and an anger management course, $r = .675$, $F(1, 20) = 16.77$, $p < .01$. These patterns of relationships indicates that the low levels of interest in cultural awareness found in the participants' answers to the Likert-scale questions were associated with equally

low levels of interest in other personal development courses. A similar finding was evidenced in the relationship between an interest in a course on anger management and a course in sex education, $r = .668$, $F(1, 20) = 16.10$, $p < .01$, with participants who showed low levels of interest in anger management to be similarly uninterested in a sex education course.

No other correlations between any of the questions concerning personal development courses were statistically significant.

3.2.6 Intercorrelations between skinhead lifestyle, New Way Trust, and personal development questions: A final series of correlational analyses was performed to determine patterns of relationships between aspects of the participants' lifestyle and their relationship to the New Way Trust. These analyses revealed a significant negative correlations between the participants' agreement with the idea that violence is a part of skinhead lifestyle and their evaluation of Kyle Chapman as a skinhead youth worker, $r = -.784$, $F(1, 12)$, $p < .01$, as well a significant negative correlation between the participants' agreement with the idea that property crime is a part of skinhead lifestyle and their evaluation of Chapman's work, $r = -.665$, $F(1, 10) = 7.90$, $p < .01$. Moreover, there was also a marginally significant correlation between the participants' agreement with the idea that racism is a part of skinhead lifestyle and their evaluation of Chapman's performance as a skinhead youth worker, $r = -.481$, $F(1, 12)$, $p < .10$. In all three cases, the participants' high levels of antisocial attitude were accompanied by equally low opinions of Kyle Chapman.

Similarly, a correlational analysis between the participant's responses to the question concerning racism as a part of skinhead lifestyle and their evaluation of the importance of Kyle Chapman Chapman's work also showed a significant negative correlation, $r = -.425$, $F(1, 19) = 4.20$, $p < .05$, with the participants high levels of agreement regarding racism as a part of skinhead lifestyle being associated with a low opinion of the work of Kyle Chapman and the New Way Trust.

In contrast, a significant positive relationship was found between the participants' desire to attend a course leading to obtaining a driver's licence and their feeling that Kyle Chapman may be able to help them, $r = .558$, $F(1, 14) = 6.34$, $p < .05$, with those wishing to obtain a driver's licence having a feeling that Chapman might be able to help them do so.

No other intercorrelations between any of the questions were significant.

3.3 An item by item breakdown of the of Srole's (1956a) Anomie scale comparing American and New Zealand skins.

Perhaps the difference in alienation measures between United States and New Zealand skinheads can be explained through a comparison of the answers to each item of the original version of Srole's (1956) scale. This replicates an analysis that Hamm (1993) used in his comparison of what he termed terrorist and non-terrorist skinheads. It can be seen in which particular areas the United States and New Zealand skinhead groups differ.

The five point Likert-scale used in this study was broken down to the three point scale that Hamm used. ‘Strongly disagree’ and ‘disagree’ are presented as one point as are ‘strongly agree’ and ‘agree.’ Thus, the three possible answers of each item are agree, not sure, and disagree. Percentages of participants’ answers of each item are shown below:

Item. 1. “There’s no use writing to public officials because they aren’t really interested in the problems of the average person.”

Item. 1	<u>USA</u>	<u>NZ</u>
AGREE %	100.0	75.0
NOT SURE %	0	15.0
DISAGREE %	0	10.0

Item 1 shows the same trend within the two studies. Both groups appear alienated. More than anything else, this item represents political alienation. It is interesting to note that more of the New Zealand group were not sure than disagreed, indicating an apathy, or lack of conviction within the New Zealand skinhead group that does not exist for the United States skinheads. This pattern continues in higher or lessor degrees for all five items.

Item. 2. “Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.”

ITEM. 2	<u>USA</u>	<u>NZ</u>
AGREE %	19.4	70.0
NOT SURE %	2.8	10.0
DISAGREE %	77.8	20.0

Item 2 shows an opposite trend between the studies: Hamm’s indicates non-alienation, the participants of this study show alienation. The difference between the two groups could be explained by the fact that the United States neo-Nazis are actively working for what they would call a better tomorrow, an America based on white power policy. As opposed to them, the New Zealand skinheads do not tend to be active neo-Nazis, but are youth disenchanted with their lives, with no direction or thought for tomorrow.

Item. 3. “In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average person is getting worse, not better.”

ITEM. 3	<u>USA</u>	<u>NZ</u>
AGREE %	97.2	55.0
NOT SURE %	2.8	25.0
DISAGREE %	0	20.0

In this item, while both groups indicate alienation, Hamm's participants are much stronger in their opinion.. Perhaps this is why they also so strongly believe that it is worth taking care of tomorrow. After all, they are fanatics.

Item. 4. "It's not fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future."

ITEM. 4	<u>USA</u>	<u>NZ</u>
AGREE %	8.3	25.0
NOT SURE %	2.8	25.0
DISAGREE %	88.9	50.0

The participants of Hamm's study show overwhelming support for the answer demonstrating non-alienation. Although 50% of the participants of this study disagreed with this question, indicating non-alienation, 50% did not disagree. This does not really indicate much at all.

Item. 5. "These days a person doesn't really know whom he [or she] can count on."

ITEM. 5	<u>USA</u>	<u>NZ</u>
AGREE %	47.2	55.0
NOT SURE %	8.3	20.0
DISAGREE %	44.4	25.0

Compared with the other items, the United States skinheads' answers of item 5 stand out in that there is no clear indication of either agreement or disagreement. There is a relatively equal distribution between the two answers. This may be the paranoia of an outgroup of society who act illegally, or it may even have been a comment to Mark Hamm, in his capacity as the researcher. It may also have been an indication of the lack of trust that the members of this group have for their skinhead peers.

3.4 Themes and Trends from Interviews

This section outlines themes and trends from the interviews that further illustrate the skinheads as an alienated outgroup in society. Once again, questions involving skinhead lifestyle, personal improvement, and the New Way Trust are examined.

3.4.1 Skinhead Lifestyle: 'How or why did you become a skinhead?' - Twenty two of the participants became skinheads through meeting skinheads, one while incarcerated, while the three others were brought up in the white power or skinhead lifestyle.

In terms of *why* they became skinheads, eighteen became skinheads primarily because of their racist attitudes, originating from a variety of negative experiences, usually involving violence to themselves or to members of their families. Three became skinheads through a progression of subcultures; two enjoyed the music, parties and look; one joined a skinhead group because they were an accepting, friendly group; and one participant became white power because of the friends and

upbringing created through her unsettled foster homes background. These explanations appear somewhat simple, but the answers given were usually multi-dimensional, involving two or more of the above reasons. The reasons for joining the skinheads tended to be because of negative experiences or attitudes.

‘What does being a skinhead mean to you?’ - This question had similar responses to the one above. What being a skinhead meant also included the camaraderie that is experienced within the scene. One woman, acknowledging other forms of skinheadism, said that to be a skinhead one has to, *“just be yourself, whatever you’re into. Know what you’re into.”* She was ‘into’ Nazism, but this was not her reply. Her response was not typical of the other extreme racists. Their definitions of skinheadism tended to exclude all those skinheads who were not of a militant neo-Nazi attitude.

‘How important is it to you to be a skinhead?’ - As noted, this question had the highest average rating of all the questions rated on the 5-point Likert-scale (4.7). “Once a skinhead, always a skinhead,” was stated by many participants. Thus, for most skinheads it was of paramount importance in their lives. This is how they define themselves; it is their identity. It can be seen therefore, that it is extremely difficult for individuals to leave the skinhead scene. Firstly, there is the loss of the emotional support of their comrades. Although this is tough, there is also the threat of physical retribution that occurs as a result of defection from extreme neo-Nazi skinhead groups. This is a very real danger. Essentially, there is the loss of identity

to deal with and the difficult, painful road of redefinition of the self that must occur if there is to be a successful break from the subculture.

Have you ever felt like you wanted to leave the skinhead scene? - Corresponding to the answers of the last question, the trend to the answers of this question was that even if the thought of quitting being a skinhead occurred to them, it was not considered seriously, due to the gravity and totality of their commitment. *“Oarr, sometimes you get fed up with it, but it’s in my blood, I couldn’t imagine dressing any other way. I couldn’t imagine walking down the road any other way. Sometimes I forget that I’m really even a skinhead, sometimes. It’s just the way I’ve always been, it’s the way I always dress, and it’s just the way it is. And with the tattoos and stuff that I’ve got on me, I’ll never be able to change. I can’t change, even if I wanted to. It wouldn’t be.... I couldn’t do it.”* This statement perfectly illustrates the kind of comments that many participants gave. Firstly, skinheadism is such a complete way of life for them that they cannot conceive of being different. Secondly, this particular skinhead was trapped within the subculture. If he did want to leave, he would not be able to even if it was simply due to his tattoos. Others were similarly inhibited from leaving by tattoos or by their friends, lifestyle, and lack of knowledge and experience of any other way of living.

When asked if he had thought about leaving the skinhead scene, one skinhead replied: *“Yes, but I don’t really think it’s an issue... now that you’ve asked me, I don’t think there’s anything to get out of. It’s not even real, that group or that scene thing. I find myself born into this life, in this world and I’ve just got to take it as it*

comes. But I wouldn't categorise, I don't think it's important. You are who you are, no matter what." This statement again illustrates the total commitment that the skinhead subculture demands of many of its members. The individual has accepted his place in the world as a skinhead. He has totally incorporated skinheadism into his identity and cannot conceive of a way out.

Specifically, twelve participants admitted to having thought about leaving from time to time, but most of these individuals had provisos, as in the case above. One participant said that it is more like stopping now and then to wonder why he is a skinhead rather thinking about leaving. Thirteen participants stated that they don't ever think about leaving the skinhead scene. It appears fairly clear that even if skinheads do think every now and then about leaving, it is something that is not considered seriously.

'How much do you consider violence, racism, and property crime to be part of skinhead philosophy or lifestyle?' - Participants were sometimes not sure how to answer this question. One individual reflected the ambiguity of the question in his answer on the meaning of property crime: *"I rate it as a 1, but it happens on a 5 scale."*

The media and the public have tended to focus on violence, racism and property crime as the primary values of skinhead culture, or at least behaviour. This question sought to find out how skinheads perceived their own attitudes and/or behaviour on

these issues. As noted previously, violence, racism and property crime were all significantly related to some degree with the skinhead subculture.

Employment and/or Education - Employment and education levels were virtually non-existent. Of those who were not in jail or juvenile detention, none were employed and only one participant (5%) was involved in any education at all, at a skills course for unemployed youth. Those who were incarcerated attended as many courses (such as anger management) as was necessary to qualify them for earlier release or other privileges.

‘As a child or young person, did you suffer any significant physical or emotional hurt?’ - *“But I got beaten up by the old man, it’s really smashed me into a different world, ya know?”* There were no defining features between those who had previously experienced some form of mental, emotional, physical or sexual abuse (17 participants) and those who had not (7 participants). One participant said that he could not remember, but he feels a great sense of alienation from his family.

This question sought to discover if the participants had undergone childhood or adolescent abuse or trauma. In a book by Briere (1992) entitled, *Child Abuse Trauma: Theory and Treatment of the Lasting Effects*, physical or emotional hurt is defined to include sexual abuse, physical abuse, psychological abuse or maltreatment, emotional neglect, parental alcoholism and/or drug addiction, witnessing family violence, or extreme poverty or homelessness (Briere, 1992). Chapman (1994) believes, “99% of all skinheads are from families of neglect and

violence.” All the forms of abuse noted above were reported in various degrees by most of the 17 participants, with family anger and violence featuring most highly. Much of this adverse parental behaviour was catalysed by alcohol and drugs. One participant told of having a box of matches lit underneath his hand by his stepfather so as to severely burn him. This was to teach him not to play with fire. However, 3 participants specifically reported only sexual abuse, and one skinhead stated that he had been abused but did not wish to go into any details. Further trauma revealed in this study included having lived through painful parental divorce, witnessing the physical abuse of one participant’s mother, and the death of two of the participants’ mothers. One participant could not remember whether or not he had suffered any significant physical or emotional hurt.

How important is your family to you? - Eleven participants rated their families as important or very important to them. One 28 year old skinhead who has just come off drugs and alcohol said that two to three years ago, he would have thought of his family as unimportant to him, but now they are very important due to the support they give him. He said this was unexpected.

Three participants considered their relationships with their families as average.

Seven participants regarded their families as unimportant. One participant, when asked how important his family is to him, replied only that politics is the most important aspect of his life. Three more, two males and a female, reported that

although their parental families are unimportant, their immediate families are very important. This refers to their children and in one case to a skinhead partner as well.

Two had parental families that do not play big roles in their lives anymore. One of these was reported above as placing all his importance on his child. Both of them alienated themselves from their families with their anti-social actions, but now recognise the importance of their families: *“Well, arr, family is important to people, eh? Having been rejected by my family, I can understand how it wouldn’t be important to people that have no family and having my family been destroyed by a system cause of my criminal record and my psychiatric record by the system, family is very important cause I understand that.”* Though falling out with their families, the absence of a family is hard to come to terms with.

There were three participants without any family. One of them regarded her friend and her friend’s children as her family. Another mourned the lack of parents: *“I’m stuck, and it’s a lonely feeling... It makes me really bitter, quite bitter, actually. It’s very lonely when you don’t know who they are or where they are, or what they’re doing, you know? You just want that comfort. It’s not there and it’s hard without it, I find.”*

‘What roles do you think women have within the skinhead scene?’ - This received a wide variety of replies that can nevertheless be broken down into two groups; those individuals who had a positive perception of women within the scene (n=9) and those who did not (n=14). As illustrated by this comment from one individual:

“There’s no spunkier woman than a bald woman,” there was a small group of males who were very positive about female skinheads, albeit in a sexual manner. These individuals were placed in the positive perception category.

It was noted that women tend not to stay within the skinhead scene as long as males, from as little as two to three weeks: *“When they weren’t wanted, they’d get the message and move on.”* Another noted that: *“There aren’t as many women as there used to be. They come in, but don’t stay as long (as men) - maximum 2-3 years. It’s a phase to them, not a life style.”* As such, amongst the group who held negative attitudes towards women, there were those who felt that women could not be skinheads:

The four female participants were divided between the two groups in their opinions of women’s roles with skinheads. Two thought that women have an equal place with (male) skinheads. These women in this group made more positive comments about women in the skinhead scene than the men did: *“There’s no reason why they can’t be skinheads. It’s an attitude, a way of life, not necessarily a male oriented thing. It’s not a fashion.”* The other two believed that women were only present in the skinhead scene to be used and abused by men.

The role for women in the skinhead scene most referred to was to be ‘used’ for sex. *“Women are totally used. It’s a power trip for them. Guys use them for sex and money. I reckon skins do more rapings than any Maoris, and not just raping, they block them with bottles and dogs - really filthy. Blocking is on the table. Boys*

'bally-up' (put on balaclavas) and rape them. It depends on where you stand with them whether they'll try anything. If they (women) hang like that, they'll get treated like that.' That women are used for money refers to prostitution with the men taking the money earned. The participant's quote also refers to women being there of their own free will. The male participants took this area further, blaming the women for what happens to them: *"They are sluts. They're put on the block. It's their own fault."* Chapman (1994) writes about women in the skinheads: "Most of them are single and get picked for sexual purposes more than their ability to fight."

There was generally not considered to be a lot of difference between skinhead society and normal society in terms of the roles that women play. That is, were these individuals not skinheads, they would still tend to believe that women occupy a lesser, more subservient role in society. Even within the group that accepted women as skinheads, women were seen having a much lesser influence and status than males: *"There's no difference between skins and normal society. Of course, they never rise to a rank of elitism or prestige like the males do, but they don't try anyway."* This was also mentioned in the group that viewed women negatively: *"they don't really do much but yell like a woman would yell anywhere else."* So, women generally had a low rather than high status within the participants' skinhead communities.

From non-user to heavy user, how would you describe yourself in relation to alcohol and drugs? - As noted, the average Likert-scale score out of five for alcohol usage of the participants was 3.5. In terms of drugs, it was 3.1. Considering that 14 of the participants were in jail at the time of the interviews, this rating is high. A number of participants said that a short time ago, they would have rated themselves as a 5, but now it is lower, in a few cases as a 1. The reasons for desiring to quit alcohol and drugs were for their kids, the knowledge that they could not hold down jobs while addicted to alcohol and drugs, and that they kept ending up in jail because of the intoxicants.

Tattoos - All male participants were visibly tattooed on either their faces, heads, arms, hands, or a combination of some or all of these areas. The tattoos were generally of violent, Nazi, Viking, and/or Satanic themes. No tattoos were detected on any of the females.

Have you ever been in trouble with the Police? All participants had been in trouble with the police. One 15 year old said that he is expecting to go to jail and prepared to for “assaults and stuff. It happens to all of us.”

Do you think courses such as anger management and cultural awareness might help keep you out of trouble with the Police? - it is overwhelmingly clear that the skinheads do not believe that becoming more aware and understanding of other cultures will help diminish the interracial conflict; 17 participants did not think that learning about other people’s cultures would keep them out of trouble with the

police, but only 4 thought that it might. A moderate proportion more, however, understood that learning to curb their anger might lower their rate of crime. Eight believed that anger management might help, while 13 did not agree.

One participant thought that the attendance of skinheads at Narcotics Anonymous would be a step towards keeping them out of jail. Four of the participants did not answer this question or were not asked it due to the direction of the interview and their answers.

Unique Philosophy - Six of the skinheads of this study have a belief that was termed 'New Zealand for New Zealanders.' This style of racism is more of an immigration policy than a Nazi doctrine and takes into account the previous inhabitants of New Zealand, the Maori. Skinheads who believe in this philosophy hold racist attitudes above all towards Asians, who they see as buying up New Zealand, and Pacific Islanders, who they see as sapping the country's economy and taking up jobs. The racial minority recognition of this philosophy is undoubtedly unique amongst skinheadism worldwide. The British skinheads style of racism is primarily against foreigners taking over their country, their employment and way of life rather than the races per se. As long as they stay in their own countries, these skinheads generally purport to have no problem with them. As New Zealand skinheads are derivatives of their British idols, to be true to their system of belief, some of them therefore realise that they must recognise the Maori as other 'original' inhabitants.

Knowledge of Philosophies - As noted by Chapman (1994) and Macnab (1994), all but one of the skinheads of this study did not demonstrate a great understanding and knowledge of racist philosophy. Thus, it can be assumed that it was not their racist fanaticism that pushed them into skinheadism. Rather, as Macnab (1994) writes, their views were “a shallow knee jerk reaction to their mostly abusive backgrounds.”

Intra-Group Conflict - As noted by Chapman (1994), New Zealand skinhead groups often violently disband. Mostly, the aggressive break-ups are due to the stealing and violence that goes on between skinheads. This is often due to the need for money based on the high rate of drug and alcohol addiction within skinheadism in New Zealand. Most skinheads were sick of this in-fighting, and desired that all skinheads come together under a common cause. This, presumably, would be white power for most of them.

‘A sum of money has been set aside to pay for Kyle Chapman’s work. Do you think this money would be better used to assist skinheads if spent in another way?’ - In answer to this question or at other times during the interview, most skinheads believed that a skinhead clubhouse would be an asset to skinheads in Christchurch. This would be a place where all skinheads could go to relax, where there would be no fighting. In fact, this was one of Kyle Chapman’s original intentions for the New Way Trust, but it was not supported by the Trust.

3.4.2 The New Way Trust: The Skinheads' Views of the Outreach Work - All

but one of the participants had heard about Kyle Chapman and the Trust, and all but the same person indicated that their skinhead friends knew about him too. Views of the Trust's work can be simply split into two categories; those who support the work of the New Way Trust (n=19), and those who do not support the Trust because of the things they had heard about Kyle Chapman, even though none of them had ever met him (n=6).

Of those supporting the outreach work, all but one participant thought that Kyle Chapman is doing a very important job. This showed in comments such as: *"Maybe everybody might not benefit from him or his Trust; the thing is, it's there and people can fall back on it, and when they come into their own they might find out that they need it."*

"Part of the way of life is sex and violence, you know - sex, drugs and rock n roll. That's what I need to get away from, apart from a few close mates. I just need to get IV clean." This comment illustrates one of the principle concerns of the drug addicted participants, to get themselves off drugs. Only one person in this group said that Kyle Chapman could not help them.

All participants of this group were in Kingsley Young Persons Home or the East (non-protection) Wing of Paparua Prison at the time of the interview. They were all male and staunchly followed a neo-Nazi or white power belief to the extent of belonging to a gang or crew or being affiliated with one. It is interesting to note that

this group of individuals who distrusted the New Way Trust and Kyle Chapman were some of the most fanatical racists, and that five of the six of them did not admit to earlier life significant hurt. This is true to the earlier results showing that those skinheads who identified themselves as being racist but not abused found little about Kyle Chapman or the New Way Trust to interest them.

It was important to those negative about the outreach work to realise that the interviewer was not personally connected to the Trust. This group's criticisms were based to a large extent upon not being familiar with what the Trust is doing and were undoubtedly due to misinterpretation of the media coverage Kyle Chapman received in the initial stages of the Trust being set up. Comments thus tended to be based around resentment that Kyle Chapman was personally given \$15,000 by the Christchurch City Council, which did not, in fact, occur. These people also had a very low opinion of Kyle Chapman personally because of his assumed lack of true skinhead ideals. Another reason given, typified by this quote by a participant was, *"...because the Trust takes away people's identities (as skinheads), and takes the sting out of skinheads."*

4.0 DISCUSSION

It was found that the skinheads in this study were more alienated using Srole's (1956a) scale compared to the control group, confirming the research hypothesis. Furthermore, this skinhead group tended to be of a low educational, employment and economic status, to indulge in drugs and/or alcohol, and to come from abusive backgrounds, showing distinct differences from the skinheads studied by Hamm (1993).

4.1 Alienation and Skinhead Culture

The results of this study also show that racism, violence, and property crime were all significantly associated with skinhead culture. This was not unexpected. Firstly, those participants who were racist tended to be violent. Secondly, those who were violent tended to commit property crime. Thirdly, the more important it is for someone to be a skinhead, the more they feel that property crime is part of the skinhead lifestyle. This last correlation is interesting, as property crime is not the most typical of the three vices that one would imagine to be most indicative of skinhead fanaticism, as the correlation implies, although vandalism was involved in the traditional English skinhead lifestyle. It must be pointed out, however, that property crime is the typical pastime of youth who are delinquent, regardless of subcultural membership.

This illustrates an important point in the debate over the difference in alienation between the United States and New Zealand skinhead groups; the New Zealand participants may be more alienated due to the fact that rather than being skinheads

because they wish to fight for the survival of the white race, they are skinheads because they are delinquents who have joined a delinquent societal outgroup. The racism part of their subcultural membership is merely what they must believe in order to belong to this group. This would explain why there is not the depth of knowledge and understanding of racist philosophy among New Zealand skinheads (Chapman, 1994; Macnab, 1994), including this study's participants, that Hamm's skinhead group displayed.

The definition of delinquency as infringements of legal and social norms describes the anti-social attitudes and behaviour of the skinhead participants of this study. Generally, this includes violence, racism, crime, and abuse of drugs and alcohol. What is more, delinquency has often been described in terms of subcultural membership, limitations of opportunity for working class males, deprived social groups, and as an expression of opposition to dominant values (Abercrombie et al., 1988). This description almost certainly matches the skinhead group of this study. Hamm's United States skinhead group had also had trouble with the police, and were racist, thus fulfilling partly the requirements for delinquency. However, they were not abusive of drugs or hard alcohol, and did not appear to be working class or deprived, in economic terms or in terms of familial abuse or neglect. The New Zealand skinhead participants have been demonstrated to be alienated, whereas the United States participants were not. Thus, it is likely that delinquency is another factor that differentiates these United States and New Zealand skinheads. For the New Way Trust, a skinhead outreach agency who work towards such goals as

precipitating the de-alienation of skinheads, and for skinheads themselves, there are implications in findings such as these.

4.2 Implications of Skinhead Alienation for the New Way Trust

It can be seen that the New Zealand skinheads of this study, being delinquent and alienated, are therefore in need of the support of the New Way Trust. Indeed, this is the primary reason why the Trust was granted funding, in order to lower the crime rate and anti-social behaviour of the skinheads. It was found in the correlation of the Likert-scale answers that the more the New Zealand skinheads endorse the ideas of racism and violence, the less they approve of Kyle Chapman, and also the New Way Trust. This is not surprising, as Chapman has renounced such a philosophy and way of life, and in their eyes has thus become part of the authority and dominant social culture that these skinheads reject. By adopting his stance, Chapman is seen as opposed to their white power ideals which include fighting for the survival of their race and culture. It was also found that those who were not abused and non-racist were less alienated. These findings together seem to indicate that as skinheads become more alienated, the more they reject help. This can be taken to mean that the more alienated skinheads are, the more alienated they want to be. This makes the work of the Trust, the facilitation for skinheads of a healthier, less alienated, less anti-social lifestyle a difficult task.

Following on, it was found that high opinions about Chapman and the New Way Trust are related; if the skinheads gave favourable responses to one, they tended to give them to the other. Given the previous information, this has implications for the

work of the Trust. It appears that supporting and trusting the skinhead outreach worker are as fundamental and important as the actual changes that the Trust is attempting to initiate. It does not matter how relevant and supportive the Trust can be to skinheads, if the worker is not valued, neither will the help that is being offered. So, given that the racist, violent skinheads did not have positive feelings towards Chapman or the Trust, there is the implication that a white power outreach worker would have positive results with a white power or neo-Nazi skinhead, as this skinhead would identify with and trust the worker, and utilise the New Way Trust to facilitate the improvement of his or her life.

The scenario described above is typical of what has been happening in the United States skinhead scene. Hamm (1993) writes that the neo-Nazi movement is responsible for skinheads quitting drugs and getting off life on the street, helping them instead to gain the self-esteem and drive to go back to school and to gain employment. It does this by showing them that the best manner in which they can support the white power cause is by developing themselves and fighting from the inside, rather than being member of an outgroup with no power or influence. With propaganda, the individuals are convinced that they can make a difference and their feelings of self-worth and determination are boosted.

Unfortunately, then, the method of lowering alienation and its effects on racist and violent skinheads would be through channelling their hatreds, rather than by removing them. It implies that the skinheads' alienation is based not on their skinhead philosophies, but on the delinquency aspect of their lifestyle. However

positive this method appears for the person concerned, it is questionable whether the individual and therefore social benefit of this style of individual skinhead improvement is worth the social cost of an evolved neo-Nazi movement. New Zealand is fostering a bi-cultural and multi-cultural society. Promoting a community support group that initiates individual improvement and lowers petty crime but also cultivates neo-Nazi indoctrination is obviously not the optimum result.

The New Way Trust outreach workers must therefore utilise other methods of reaching racist skinheads who are distrustful and hostile towards them for their non-racist philosophies. It was found that there was a positive correlation between skinheads desiring a driver's licence and feeling that Chapman could help them. This is significant, as generally, there were low opinions about courses that the Trust may offer, except the course to gain a driver's licence. These individuals may have seen the need for something tangible in their lives, like a driver's licence, rather than realising that they could use some counselling. Therefore, it may be useful to the Trust to use the hook of something concrete, like the driver's licence course, to gain the interest and favour of the hostile racist skinheads. Once a relationship has been established, it would be possible to introduce them to the more esoteric courses on offer, such as anger management. The courses could even be used in conjunction with each other, such as learning to control one's anger when driving.

4.3 Differences Between the American and New Zealand Participants

The participant group of this study were significantly alienated in contrast to Hamm's (1993) study of white power skinheads in the United States. This group was described as not alienated, moreover, as surprisingly well adjusted.

The rationale for the difference in alienation between the New Zealand skinhead and United States participants needs to be examined. Essentially, Hamm examined only fanatical racist skinheads, who, it appears, do not consider themselves alienated from their society, whereas this study incorporated a broad cross-section of the skinhead community in Christchurch and New Zealand. The various differences between the two groups in demographics and lifestyle can possibly explain this. The first interpretation of the non-alienation of Hamm's group is, as already mentioned, that they appear to be of a higher socioeconomic status. That is, the United States skinhead group may be distinct from society but not alienated due to a cushioning effect created within their relatively high educational, employment and economic status. These white power skinheads also have highly motivated political, social and racial belief, and exist and are nurtured within the conventional family unit (Hamm, 1993).

What is more, Hamm's United States skinhead group appear to have led healthier lives than the skinhead participants in this study. The US skinheads did not come from abusive backgrounds. Seventy two per cent of the New Zealand skinhead group, on the other hand, were abused as children or adolescents. As stated, there is a correlation between childhood abuse and subsequent antisocial or aggressive

behaviour (Lewis et al., 1989). Incidentally, this has also been linked with lower socioeconomic status (Fergusson, Horwood & Lynskey, 1994). Chapman (1994) states that most skinheads in New Zealand come from families of abuse or neglect and that, as a result, they know nothing but abuse. Certainly, Farrington (1995) in an article on understanding teenage antisocial behaviour notes that, generally, childhood antisocial behaviour tends to continue through to adolescence, and on to adulthood. From there, the antisocial adult tends to produce another antisocial child. Thus, it may be that childhood abuse or neglect is the deciding factor between the difference in alienation of the two groups.

Perhaps the dichotomy in alienation scores can be explained by examining the answers to the items of Srole's (1956a) scale. This is a technique that Hamm used in his alienation analysis.

One of the characteristics of the United States skinhead group that shows up in their answers is that they tend to hold very strong, rather than weak opinions, regardless of whether they implied alienation. In contrast, the New Zealand participants were more apathetic in their answers, indicating a lack of conviction that does not exist for the United States group. The New Zealand group were a lot less definite in their responses, with many more participants than in the United States group answering 'not sure'. The two items that convincingly indicated alienation for the New Zealand group, 'there's no use writing to public officials because they aren't really interested in the problems of the average person;' and 'nowadays a

person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself,' were less strong in their indication than any of the United States responses.

The only time any confusion arose for Hamm's participants was over the topic of trust. Compared with the other items, the United States participants' answers of item 5; "these days a person doesn't really know whom he [or she] can count on," stand out with roughly the same amount agreed and disagreed. This item also had the most participants answering 'not sure.' This may be the paranoia of an outgroup of society who act illegally, or it may have been an indication of the lack of trust that the members of this group have for their skinhead peers. This is certainly the indication that was given in interviews with the New Zealand skinheads. In accordance with this, the majority of the participants of the New Zealand study agreed with this item. In spite of their affiliations within the skinhead community, they nevertheless did not have a lot of faith in their peers' ability to stand by them. It is consistent with the high amount of intra-group conflict reported within New Zealand skinhead groups in the literature and in the interviews in this study.

In his item analysis, Hamm was comparing terrorist skinheads to non-terrorists, rather than skinheads to non-skinheads, Hamm's definition of a terrorist skinhead being the presence of overt racism, political violence, and links to an homologous international subculture of neo-Nazism. It is interesting to note, therefore, that in this comparison as in the comparison of the United States and New Zealand skinheads, item 5, about trust, is again the only item in which there is a significant difference between the two groups. The non-terrorists were more alienated than the

terrorists, that is, they did not know whom they could really count on. Thus, in both comparisons, terrorists with non-terrorists, and the United States group with the New Zealand group, it can be inferred that the more fanatical neo-Nazi skinheads have the strongest, most organised support network. So, it can be seen that the significant differences between the United States skinhead group and the New Zealand group are based on the differences in the degree of white power fanaticism.

Part of the reason that the United States participants could count on their comrades, and that their support network is so powerful is that there is a very strong incentive to stay within the movement. 'Defection' is not tolerated, and it can lead to very severe punishment, including even the attempted murder of the defector and/or his family (Aho, 1988; Hamm, 1993; Hasselbach, 1996).

A rationale for the difference in alienation status between the United States and New Zealand skinhead groups is that it is possible that non-alienation is particular to Hamm's group of white power skinheads rather than characteristic of all racist skinheads in the United States. If this was the case, it would be as a function of Hamm's (1993) participant recruitment. Over half (between 18 and 22 of 36) of Hamm's participants (50-61%) were statistically isolated by the fact that they are leaders of skinhead gangs, and as such may not be representative of the majority of skinheads in America. Subsequently, only 39 to 50 per cent (14-18 of 36) of his participants can be considered as average or 'ordinary' skinheads, because they were contacted on the street or in prison.

Furthermore, in Hamm's study, 58% of the participants had hair long enough to comb rather than the traditional shaved head. He asked, "why did the skinhead style change so dramatically once it was exported to the USA?" The answer is that it has not undergone such a dramatic change. Hamm's choice of participants focused his research onto a very exclusive population that has more skinhead leaders than normal skinheads, and includes 'skinheads' with 'long' hair. In light of this information, it is possible to propose that Hamm was contacting 'skinheads' who were no longer 'real' traditional style skinheads, but neo-Nazis.

There is a distinct difference between these two groups (Hasselbach, 1996), yet Hamm's study suggests that the two movements are becoming homologous. As progressive skinhead leaders within the United States neo-Nazi movement, the majority of Hamm's participants look to have metamorphosed into neo-Nazi leaders who command the low status skinheads. They may call themselves skinheads without actually being real skinheads any longer. In Ingo Hasselbach's (1996) book, *Fuhrer-Ex: Memoirs of a Former Neo-Nazi*, in which he refers to America many times as the real centre for the spread of neo-Nazism, he asserts that if a skinhead is serious and intelligent enough about his fight for the white race, he can be guided by higher echelon neo-Nazis to resume a more conventional appearance and lifestyle whilst keeping his ideology. From this position, he can carry on the fight from inside normal society and be of maximum use to the movement. It is one of the methods that neo-Nazism utilises to make the most impact on the world. Originally, skinheadism and neo-Nazism were two distinctly different subcultures or movements, but they are fast becoming indistinguishable from each other.

Hence, it is possible that many of Hamm's participants are more similar to members of white power or neo-Nazi groups than skinheads. As such, they may not have been alienated due to the fact that they were not skinheads in the traditional or original manner, that is, as the caricature of the white lower socioeconomic man, down trodden, the bottom of the heap. The New Zealand skinhead participants, on the other hand, if not at the bottom, are very near it. They were found to be unemployed, and alienated, and this was backed up by correlations and themes from the interviews portraying the skinheads as racist, violent, criminal, abused, abusive of drugs and alcohol, with little group structure and much intragroup conflict.

Part of this conflict deals with the women. There is a reported high degree of misogyny, physical abuse and rape of women and within the New Zealand skinhead scene, ironic, considering the high importance of the mothers of skinheads (Chapman, 1994), and backed up by the relatively high importance of this study's participants' families. This abuse was not found in Hamm's study. Women were respected and valued members of the skinhead participants' communities.

One of the reasons that the men dominate the women in such an abusive manner is illuminated when it is recognised that feelings of powerlessness are a major dimension of alienation. Men can physically control the women, and this may be the only control that they feel they have in their lives. It may also be as a result of their dysfunctional backgrounds, as part of the participants' abusive backgrounds was the problems of parental conflict. Thus, the males may have learned how women are

treated from their own abusive fathers, regardless of their personal feelings towards their mothers. As Chapman (1994) writes: "Anyone that has been abused all their lives knows nothing else but abuse."

So why then, do the women go to skinheads? Despite the fact that there were not enough female participants to study separately, as members of the alienated participant group of this study, the simple answer to this question is that women go with skinheads because they are also alienated and see nowhere else to go. It is plausible to assume that the women feel the only people who will accept them for who they are and allow them to feel wanted are the likewise alienated skinheads. The women use the sex to feel loved, and the men use the women for sex, but also primarily for domination, for feelings of power. However alienated the women are to put up this abuse, it must also be remembered it was reported that compared to men, women do not stay within the skinhead scene for long periods.

4.4 Skinheads as a Threat to Society

The skinhead threat to the safety and stability of conventional New Zealand society may not be much more than sensationalism by the media. Moore (1990) believes that being a skinhead in Australia is not a lifetime commitment. "Contact with other skins lessens as individuals approach their mid 20's with the advent of other commitments such as steady girlfriends and/or jobs." This implies that skinheadism, unlike gang culture in New Zealand, for instance, is purely an adolescent attachment. However, Sinason (1985) believes that as adolescents, skinheads are not aware of the temporary quality of this chaotic, painful stage of

their lives and tend to be very disturbed because of this. The most dangerous of these, she believes, are the tattooed skinheads because of their need to make the permanent marks upon their bodies. All the male skinheads of this study were tattooed, but the corresponding high level of skinhead conflict makes the chance of skinheads coming together to form a coherent force very slim. It is a thought that even if they did band together, their numbers would not be high enough to represent a real threat, although this has not stopped some United States skinheads committing murder (Hamm, 1993).

Hamm's study shows that skinheadism is a subculture that society needs to beware of. However, Hamm also reports that top National agencies that investigate hate crime in the United States are not concerned with the skinhead movement, refuting the results of his study. What is more, the results of this study mirror these organisations' statements in that skinheadism is seen as not a threat due to their disorganisation and lack of internal coherence. By the F.B.I. the skinheads are described as unorganised, with no common beliefs. The Southern Poverty Law Centre states that, "there is no single national organisation, [skinheads] frequently move in and out of gangs, and gangs themselves split and merge." The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith wrote about the skinheads' severe internal problems: "There is substantial evidence of drug use, Satanism, intragang violence, and all the other sociopathic tendencies to be found these days on the outer fringes of the youth culture."

Their statements plus the results of this study could be interpreted as evidence to suggest that Hamm may have gone too far in his conclusions about the threat of skinheadism. Taken in conjunction with Hasselbach (1996), who does not refer to himself as a skinhead but as a neo-Nazi, it is possible, as already mentioned, that Hamm's study was about neo-Nazism and white power skinheadism rather than skinheadism in its entirety. On the other hand, the results of the United States national agencies may reflect what is happening in New Zealand now, with Hamm's (1993) results representing the future of New Zealand skinheadism. That is, skinheads at the moment are an unorganised, incoherent group of alienated, delinquent individuals, representing no substantial threat, while the possible future is of an organised, internationally connected neo-Nazi skinhead movement if steps are not taken to prevent the consolidation and spread of neo-Nazism occurring as it has in the United States. Therefore, it is necessary to acknowledge Hamm's message of the danger of the neo-Nazi skinhead movement in America. It must be recognised that it might be possible this can happen in New Zealand.

Hamm (1993) found that, as a function of his results, the most efficacious responses to the spread of neo-Nazi violence are:

- a) Boycotting by the public and by relevant businesses of white power rock.
- b) Expanding litigation against publishers of racist literature.
- c) Introducing conservative gun laws.
- d) Introducing higher standards for responsible media coverage.
- e) Continuing further research into skinheadism.

Based on the results of this study, it is not certain whether actions such as these are necessary yet with New Zealand skinheads, or at all, given that New Zealand has tougher gun laws than the United States. However, it is recognised that help is necessary for the individual skinheads, who are alienated and abused, and who lead lives in and out of jail. This comes in the form of the New Way Trust, there to support skinheads through the difficult times, and hopefully, to facilitate the positive development of their lives, thus lowering their alienation in all its dimensions. However, comparing the results of this study and Hamm's (1993), it appears so far that the de-alienation of skinheads is tantamount to an organised, strengthened neo-Nazi movement, showing that perhaps it is the alienation itself that inhibits this development of the spread of a neo-Nazi skinhead movement. The task that lies ahead of skinhead outreach workers, therefore, is to de-alienate skinheads in such a way as to also render them socially compatible. If this were able to occur, a great service for the individuals concerned, for their families and loved ones, and for society itself would be accomplished, potentially leading the way for the successful socialisation of other alienated, anti-social persons and outgroups within society.

4.5 Areas for Further Research

1. Future research should make more of a demographic, socioeconomically oriented study of skinheads in Christchurch or New Zealand by examining the impact of skinheadism as a function of socioeconomic status. This would further identify the potential areas of attention necessary for the successful social integration of skinheads. Economic disadvantage is difficult for all those who suffer it, but is there more of an impact on skinheads than on other groups? The skinheads of this

study were resentful of the income support opportunities available for Somalian refugees and for Maori. If skinheads were also eligible for such support as a function of their disadvantage, would this make a difference to their anti-social attitudes and/or behaviour?

2. Further studies could examine forms of therapy that enable the skinheads to cope successfully with the negative impact their abusive backgrounds have had on their personality development and, subsequently, the development of alienation, on their lives. The studies could investigate what effects these therapies would have on the skinheads' delinquent and anti-social attitudes. This study has shown that skinheads are generally not receptive to counselling such as anger management. Thus, it would also be a task of such studies to find out if offering a more concrete reward would entice them into a therapy situation.

3. What creates a skinhead? It has been suggested that the pattern of alienation, delinquency, and subcultural membership are linked to socioeconomic status, and thus to deprivation. However, not all individuals from disadvantaged families become skinheads. A longitudinal study of lower socioeconomic status families could help identify the conditions from which skinheads evolve. Government policy making can be made based upon such studies as these in order to inhibit the development of such racist, violent, and anti-social individuals.

4. Studies more directly related to the New Way Trust's outreach workers would be of benefit to the Trust, and thus to skinheads. These studies would answer

such questions as, can skinheads be helped to change their skins? Their life circumstances can be enhanced by, say, gaining employment, but is it possible for skinheads to actually become less racist and delinquent from the help of an outreach group? Can skinheads be desirable, responsible members of society, or is this an oxymoron? The Trust desires the positive social development of skinhead behaviour and lifestyle, but does not want to stop skinheads being skinheads; is that possible? Apparently, in the United States it is occurring to a degree, but in that direction lies the further spread of organised neo-Nazism. Perhaps the solution is to give them another, more positive cause to fight for. The challenge to further studies and to the New Way Trust is to discover if there are other viable ways to initiate responsible changes in skinheads without having to convince them that it is necessary to the fight for the white race.

It is only when programs such as these are carried out that the true nature of the skinhead problem will be understood and, hopefully, alienated. In this way, these individuals may be reintegrated into more productive lifestyles.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I (From Addison, 1995 - Evaluation of the New Way Trust Skinhead Project)

SKINHEAD HISTORY

1. SKINHEADS ARE BORN: A GLOBAL HISTORY

1.1 The Teddy Boys

The teddy boys of the late 1950's were the first of the post World War II youth subcultures in Britain and were heavily into rock and roll and rebellion. Fighting with razors and bike chains, they led a series of unprovoked attacks on young immigrant Jamaican men in the ghettos of West London, and featured prominently in the bloody Nottinghill and Nottingham race riots. These events "marked the introduction of racial violence as a postwar subcultural style among British youth" (Hamm, p17).

1.2 The Mods and Rockers

The mod movement of the early to mid 1960's was bigger than the teddy boys ever were. Though continuing the style of featuring aggressive sounding, subversive music, the mods were more working class than the Teddy boys. At the heart of their world was the black man (Hamm, p18): He was the center of their music, the inspiration and the creator in one. All the early British mod bands like *Them*, and

The Kinks began by copying black American singers, such as Muddy Waters and John Lee Hooker.

The rockers were the mod's enemies. To look at the leather clad, machoistic rockers, it would seem that they would win a war between the mods and therefore dominate in the end, but they were a class bound (lower) subculture, and inheriting the violent and uncouth image of the teddy boys were not seen as commercially viable. Thus, the mod style was secured as the dominant fashion, gaining most numbers, and the rockers went underground.

1.3 **The Mods Divide**

By 1966-67, the more middle class, image driven groups of the mods, scooter boys and art school mods were riding Italian motor scooters covered in chrome accessories or wearing boutique clothes. The hard mods were more militant and working class, donning heavy boots, jeans, braces and cropped hair. For them it was their way of life they were fighting for, not just a style or fashion. The hard mods lived up to their name, proving too tough for the teds and rockers, and were yet another group fighting colonisation by the Pakistanis, disliking their hard working, family attitude to business and the way this enabled them to bring their extended families to immigrate. It is not surprising then, that it was amongst the working class hard mods that the first skinheads were seen to appear.

1.4

The First Skinheads

The first true skinheads emerged in a noticeable way in the East End of London around 1968, and by the end of that year had become visible in large numbers. They were fascinated by a notorious Jamaican gang called the rude boys who were part of the ska/reggae scene (Hamm, p24).

Since the existing working class culture did not seem to fit in with what the skinheads wanted, they created their own subculture to defend based on violence, racialism, puritanism, and to an extent, localism. This is a caricature of the original working class beliefs (for instance, football hooliganism originating from merely supporting the local football team) and it has become more bizarre and extreme as the years have passed.

By the early 1970's, the skinheads were a defined youth subculture in Britain, but this was not to remain so for long, mainly for two reasons. First, the rude boy ska/reggae that the skinheads glorified became more religious and more African-Jamaican developing into Rasta reggae. The second reason was that in August of 1972, Scotland Yard led a campaign against the skinheads that effectively annihilated them as an active subculture.

Around the early 1970's, most skinheads altered their appearance, becoming 'suedeheads'. This involved growing their hair a couple of inches and dressing more tidily and expensively. The suedeheads then evolved into what were known as smoothies, and their girlfriends into 'sorts'. Their hair once again fractionally

longer, the smoothies and sorts were another step in the smoothly dressed direction (Chapman, 1995b; Allen, 1972-77).

1.5

Punks- Shock Value

‘True’ punk rock lasted from 1976 to 1979 in England (this differs from country to country and account to account). It not only inspired a resurgence of skinheads, it also added new elements that would effectively metamorphose the scene into a movement: Firstly, the relatively innocent ‘shock value’ involvement with Nazism and Hitler matured and began to be seen by the rising tide of skinheads amongst the punk movement as an answer to the country’s problems of unemployment. To the youths with no jobs, no money and no direction who spent their days and nights getting ‘out of it’ on drugs and wasting time, the concepts of Nazism gave them scapegoats for their plight.

Secondly, in addition to television and music, punk was spread throughout the world by magazines, called in the pop world, fanzines. This was to be an efficient method of distributing Nazi skinhead propaganda and bringing the movement to the masses.

Thirdly, a variety of music called “Oi!” arrived as the new skinheads were gaining strength. Oi! helped attract skinheads but was not itself originally an exclusive skinhead music form, being a more extreme form of the working class, raucous, sing a long pub song that punk rockers had already incorporated into their culture.

The original skinheads who had still been around, though in much depleted numbers tended not to like the punks or the anarchy skinheads who were against the British monarchy and everything that was not them.

1.6

Skins- The 2nd Wave

By about 1980, the punk movement was grinding down but skinheads were beginning to gain in numbers. Hamm (1993) believes that the second generation of skinheads were born largely due to “the musical talents, business acumen, and good fortune” of Ian Stuart Donaldson, who started up a skinhead band, ‘Skrewdriver’ with Nazi-style racist lyrics, and a political action group called White Noise in the East End of London. The British National Front (NF), whose music consisted of Wagner and SS marching tunes soon noticed Stuart and became aware that they could use his band and style of music to attract young followers. Examples of songs from their second album, *Hail the New Dawn*, are “White Power,” “Nigger, Nigger,” and “Race and Nation.” Oi! had now become the music of the Nazi skinheads.

Today, though it would appear that the anti-immigrant stance has been pervasive throughout the development of the movement, there are a myriad of skinhead beliefs or value systems, impossible to put entirely into one box, and quite particular to the situation of each country: For instance, here in New Zealand, mainly because of family ties or Maori bloodline, many skinheads proclaim “New Zealand for New Zealanders.” These individuals focus their hatred on Pacific Islanders that settle here, and Asians, for buying businesses and land. Other examples of the differing

types of skinheads worldwide are Nazi skins, white power skins, Jewish skins, Black American skins, Oi! skins, Royalists, and Anarchy skins.

Skinheadism has grown in Europe, with neo-Nazism, especially in Germany. These skinheads' beliefs are based on traditional German values, which they feel have been betrayed by the State. "They want to see the abolition of socialism and democracy, and re-establish a fully militarised German Reich" (Addison, 1993).

As Bill Payne writes in *Staunch*: "So varied are the separate groups' beliefs that the quintessential New Zealand Skinhead simply doesn't exist" (Payne, p86). This applies to skinheads worldwide.

2.0 SKINHEADS IN CHRISTCHURCH, NEW ZEALAND

The data in this section has been collected from interviews with agency workers, skinheads, ex-skinheads, ex-punks and bootboys, and a homie leader.

2.1 The Beginning -Punks and Boots

The skinheads in New Zealand originated from the punk and bootboy movement that arrived here in 1977 and went through to the early '80's, though there is evidence of a small skinhead contingency in the early 1970's¹. The bootboys were a

¹ There were guys 'skinned up' in Christchurch as early as or earlier than 1977, but generally, they weren't labeled as such because the music and ideals that make skinheads who they are were not around yet. These early skinheads might have been people who had got out of jail or the armed forces with short hair and just left it like that, or they may have authentically come from England having mixed with either the old skins or the beginning of the new generation of skinheads there. Alternatively, there were also punks and boots who shaved their heads to shock people. These oddballs were part of the early evolution towards skinheadism, but were not true skinheads because the music and magazines had not yet come to New Zealand, and because they did not call themselves as such. It was not until the publications started arriving in dribs and drabs from travellers and

progression from a faction of the punks that did not look so outrageously colourful and weird, and it is from these and the harder punks that many of the original skins in New Zealand developed.

According to individuals in the punk and bootboy scene interviewed in Lucinda Birch's study, Christchurch Boots, the style was initially imported through youth going to England and returning with tight "rolled up jeans, boots, leather jackets, crass t-shirts, (*and*) crass records," at a time when "everyone else still had long hair and flared jeans." It was initially for the look- "we just wanted to be different;" and the attention- "It's great, people just can't look away;" and the feeling that it gave them- "like we're the only ones who realise what it's all about." There was now a subcultural solidarity amongst the Pakeha youth that Maoris and Polynesians, in gangs or otherwise, had always had. Possibly, disenchanted Pakeha youth craved that also- "Y'know, the blacks were here first, with their tough kinda' image, in gangs, and then the boots appeared and looked the part... y'know, we look a threat cos we look tough too."

In the late 70's and early 80's punks, boots and skins would intermingle freely as equals in the same subcultural area, united against the 'straights'. They would all go to the same gigs and listen to the same music, mainly punk and Oi! During the 1980's there would have been a core of about 300 punks, boots and skins, but it was 1980-1983 that the scene was in full swing with, for example, many gigs being held by bands such as Desperate Measures, Unauthorised, Aryan Army, and Johnnies.

eventually news agents (when they finally realised that they could make some money from them) that the skinhead movement really began.

Essentially, the main groups that the punks, boots and skins had trouble with in the early days were Rastas, the Aotearoa Mongrel Mob, bikers, rugby “mugs,” and various members of the straights (regular public).

Judged by their appearance, this homogenous group of young rebels were expected to cause trouble, mayhem and violence. In actual fact, the punks in Christchurch were reportedly not very violent, “they were just into the look -to get drunk and have a good time, getting into their own thing and minding their own business” (skinhead and ex-punk), but violence followed them; on the one hand they liked the attention, but on the other hand, they felt victimised for the way they looked. It was a matter of ‘what came first,’ with the public expecting trouble from them and therefore getting it. One venue where bands would play was a deserted warehouse called Wayne’s Manor (named after the residence of the comic book hero, Batman) and its placing beside the Sydenham Rugby Club resulted in weekly clashes, illustrating the hostility that would occur between the public and the mixed group of punks, boots and skins.

Another group that the punks and boots would have clashes with were the Rastas. In New Zealand, being a Rastafarian didn’t have so much to do with the religion as with the music of Bob Marly and the Wailers. The fact that it was a black movement inspired young Maoris and Polynesians to follow the music and the style, including dreadlocks and red, gold and green tea-cosylike caps to hold the dreads in. These

young people were the forerunners of the streetkids and homies that would carry on conflicting with skinheads through to the mid 1990's.

It must be noted here that although these groups were of different ethnic origins, the clashes were claimed not to be racially motivated by the punks and boots. In fact, urban Maori youth joined whole heartedly in the initial punk and bootboy scene (There were no reports of Samoans or other Polynesian groups involving themselves in the same way that Maoris were reported to). It was when the skinheads began dominating that these numbers began to drop.

After a while, "hair became shorter and shorter" (ex-skinhead and punk). There became more skinheads around than bootboys, and most of the punks moved off in a different direction, becoming more fashion orientated and pacifist, or straight, with only a few becoming skinheads.

2.2 **The '80's -Punks and Skins Divide**

It was around 1979-1980 that distinct differences appeared between punks and skins. Despite having originated from and with the punks, there was now bad feeling between the two groups. This had also occurred in Britain and the States also. The principal reason for this is that they were fundamentally of a different ilk, assuming their particular subcultural identities for different reasons.

These differences are most vividly portrayed in the country of the subcultures' origins, England, and rest primarily on class, or socio-economic differences. Punk

rockers, as the movement developed, tended to be more middle class, while skinheads originated primarily from the lower socio-economic zones. This presents an interesting dichotomy in philosophies, illustrated by the fact that punk rock was more of a phase while skinheads have fought to hold onto their beliefs. Skinheadism began in the hard core, working class areas of London and its entire presence portrays this. Its values were, and are representative of working class solidarity; protecting what little they have against those that would take it off them, and looking after their own. This is clearly expressed in the skinhead look, the music, the language and the politics and was picked up on by those youth who could identify with it in other countries, those who lived on the poorer sides of town themselves.

In New Zealand at the beginning of the 1980's, unemployment was rising and the young people were restless. Those from the lower socio-economic zone were coming out of the education system with not much to look forward to, and skinheadism gave them something to follow, something to believe in, and people to blame for their predicament. It was more than just a fashion statement, it was something that gave meaning and substance to their lives where otherwise there was none. What did they have in their lives? They were on the dole with no money and nothing to do or in a deadbeat job that they did not enjoy, with a boss that had no respect for them because they had no respect for themselves. Being a skinhead gave them something to do, gave them mates who were what they were and understood where they were coming from, standing and fighting at their side. It gave them something to believe in, and in doing this, resurrected a form of self respect, a feeling central to an individual's self esteem. Nearly all skinheads interviewed have

said that being a skinhead is *the* most important or nigh on the most important thing in their lives, and those I talked to who do not consider themselves skinheads any longer have said that it will always be in them. To them it is an identifiable force.

Punks, on the other hand, tended to come from more successful, wealthier homes than did skinheads, and therefore, as is sociologically understood, generally had better life prospects in front of them. This meant that to this class of punks, the scene was a way to rebel against what they could see was wrong in society, and also against society's and their parent's pressure to succeed (Brendan, ex- punk and bootboy). They were involved for shock value and to upset their parents, and this they accomplished very well. For the punks, however, it was not as personal as it was for the skinheads because when their backs were against a wall, they had a way out, they had a better chance of getting to the jobs that they wanted, or to a job at all. They were coming from more of a middle class, academic background, and sociologically, they had a better chance of reaching the higher echelon job market. For example, many of the individuals within the more middle class youth subcultures of the 60's, the hippies, bohemians and art school mods merely joined the society and system they had rebelled against initially with often the most dissident of intentions.

So, it can be seen that though punks and skins looked to be from the same roots, they had, in actual fact, been on different paths from the beginning.

2.3

The Punk Movement Dies

By 1984-85, life within the punk, boots and skin scene had got beyond a joke: “Bootboys were more of a laugh, skinheads were more aggro” (ex-skinhead and bootboy). Brendan, a 30 year old ex-punk and bootboy finished up in 1985 because of brawls with the police and the Mongrel Mob, disclosing that “things had got nasty.” For Brendan, it was mainly a couple of things that spurred him on: Firstly, friends had started dying due to the violence and overdosing. The drug scene going from being fun to people acquiring serious habits and this was scaring people. Secondly, a woman got raped in New Brighton by someone described as having short, spiky purple hair, and headlines such as, “Punk Rockers Terrorise Fendalton,” now became “Woman Raped By Rocker.” Suddenly it was not cool to be punk or bootboy any longer, and for him it was time to get out. This story of why Brendan left the punk scene illustrates the fundamental socio-economic difference between punk rockers and skinheads.

2.4

Skinheads - The 1980's

The first skinhead crew to wear shirts in Christchurch was the Christchurch Skinhead Club (CHCH Skins), lasting from late 1982 to 1987. They started off with 12 members and had about 27 at one stage. The wearing of t-shirts is significant because it symbolised the unity of the group to themselves and perhaps more significantly, to other skinheads and gangs. One of the results of forming a crew is the solidarity, producing safety in numbers and camaraderie. A less positive result of forming a crew with a shirt is to make the individuals within and as a group a

target to those who are looking for one of them, like, for instance, some of the more anti-skinhead biker's gangs.

One of the defining characteristics of skinheads is the will and ability to fight any number of people who threaten to take away their defining shirt, boots or jacket, which is, in effect, their uniform. Once skinheadism began to get popular, people who did not really know what it was all about began joining just for the look and the image, but when it came down to it often they were not ready to fight for that image and would give up their jackets or boots to someone that 'stood over' them and demanded it. One of the founding members of the CHCH Skins explained:

"That's a lot of the reason why we started our club, because some of the people that were shaving their heads didn't know what they were getting into, it was just like a phase for them or a wee fad. I don't think they even delved into the background of it all and got back to the roots of where it all began."

Another reason they started was because of trouble makers that were getting all skins kicked out of pubs. During the day, they would not be allowed in the public bars because of young skinheads who could not handle their alcohol or drugs very well. It would only take one or two to get all skins banned from the pub. Having an identity proved that they were not the trouble makers and that they could keep under control. Eventually, however, the CHCH Skins ended up getting their own bars together in two houses in Woolston because of the image that the Nazi skins were giving to all skinheads.

The Nazi skinhead scene was initially dominated by the second club to start up in Christchurch, the United National Front Nazi Party, otherwise known as the United Skinheads or simply, Uniteds. This crew was started by an ex-Timaru Roadknight vice-president who was celled up (in prison) with a skinhead and became one himself. His affiliations with the Bikers gang in Timaru forced a move down to Christchurch and this is where he started the first Uniteds 'chapter.' There ended up being Uniteds Skinheads in Christchurch, Timaru and Dunedin. Some skinheads in Christchurch didn't like him because of the traditional biker/skinhead hostility and he was not accepted. Another reason he was not accepted with the CHCH Skins was because he tried to set up a white power group, but the CHCH Skins were Oi! skins and had some Maori members. So, he set up the NFNP (the National Front Nazi Party) that was essentially the Uniteds. At any one time, these guys had more members in jail than out, as opposed to the CHCH Skins who only ever had a couple in jail and who mainly had jobs. In the early days, the Uniteds were principally a jail gang, recruiting most of their members from there.

The Firm were another crew that hung around in town in the early 80's, and were seen as easy pickings by the Uniteds. They used to have more pitched battles with them than anyone else and there were quite a few stabbings. The Firm used to hang around town and were some of the individuals responsible for getting others banned from pubs. These were the three main crews of that era, but it must be remembered that there were also a lot of skinheads who did not form any clubs or get shirts

printed. These skins were just known as the Papanui skins, or the Linwood skins, as in, “he’s a Burnside skin.”

Around 1985-86, a CHCH Skin member got stabbed to death by a United who happened to be an ex-CHCH Skinhead. The next day the grieving, intoxicated CHCH Skins retaliated by going to attack the Uniteds at a house where they thought they were all congregating, but unfortunately for the leader, they found only him and beat him up so badly he nearly died. The initial stabbing, though occurring through personal reasons, was also because the CHCH Skins associated somewhat with the Firm who were already in a war with the Uniteds, and the Uniteds would attack anyone who was seen with them.

Time eventually saw the CHCH Skins and the Firm disbanding.

2.5

Skinheads - The 1990's

National Reputation - By the time it got to late 1989 and 1990, the Uniteds were fading away as well, but their reputation for being psychotic and Nazi had spread round the country and more skins were joining the Nazi skinhead movement. This spread was helped by the nationally known 1989 murder/suicide by one of the United's leading members, Glen McAllister, of a Christchurch City Council worker in the square.

Staunch, a book about New Zealand gang cultures published in 1991 featured the Uniteds, in many of the skinhead photos. This book became well known around the New Zealand subcultural scene, giving skinheadism a minor shot in the arm.

Romper Stomper - The '90's revitalisation for skinheadism in Christchurch and New Zealand was the late 1992 release of the skinhead movie *Romper Stomper*. Made and set in Australia, it is closer to home than anything about skinheads put out by the British or Americans - the lead actor is even a New Zealander! It is not surprising that it was able to affect New Zealand skins in the way that it did. It is not known if the movie had a similar vitalising effect on other countries' skinhead populations. *Romper Stomper* follows the story of two skinhead mates as seen through the eyes of one of them, the leader of a skinhead gang, an intelligent, streetwise, charismatic, yet psychotic young man in his early 20's. The two career around their degenerate lives with their gang, vandalising, taking drugs, getting drunk, indulging in sexual liaisons with women, and ultimately, hating Asians and severely beating them up. In the end, the protagonist murders his best friend by stabbing him in the back. It is designed as a sad, lonely, desperate tragedy, showing how worthless the whole scene is and how messed up people are within it. Ironically, it is hailed by skinheads as an icon of their culture, and the justifications of anti-Asian violence that are brandished throughout the movie are reiterated by young New Zealand skins with vehemence.

Following the release of *Romper Stomper*, youngsters shaved their heads and hit the streets, regurgitating racist propaganda. The movie had brought neo-Nazi

skinheadism and beliefs to the masses and some individuals responded in a way that was surely not intended by the creators. Rated at the movies as R16 or R18, it was the release on video in mid 1993 that really enabled a wide circle of youngsters to view it, and by the end of 1993 and the beginning of 1994 skinheads had started to attack and abuse mainly Asians, Maoris and Polynesians, but also anyone else that got in their way when they were bored or drunk was lucky to escape unscathed. Japanese authorities were warning tourists before they left Japan of the possible dangers in Christchurch following some physical attacks on tourists and Nazi style verbal abuse in the square.

This is not to say that many New Zealand youngsters skinned up on the merits of Romper Stomper alone, Government action had been angering skinheads and public alike. The Government had been selling off previously State owned enterprises predominantly, it appeared, to the Japanese, and Asians had been moving to New Zealand for the last few years with the aid of new immigration laws, buying expensive new property and cars. This led to relatively rich suburbs such as Howick, of Auckland being newly labelled 'Chowick,' indicating a publicly racist leaning, definitely not limited to the skinhead population.

The Media - Police described the attention the skinhead 'problem' received at this time as a "media feeding frenzy" (The Press, 2/4/94), with each instance of trouble getting labelled and reported. It was the labelling that caused distress to the police:

“People assume that skinheads are automatically involved in every incident. However, many of these incidents are not racist and simply involve louts with no hair. The media continue to describe them as skinheads. I wish we could avoid that, but unfortunately it’s too late to prevent them being labelled as such. The problem is that other people now want that label” (Superintendent Paul Fitzharris).

“Once the media hype stopped, so did the violence. The skins fed off it” (skinhead).

Kyle Chapman agrees, noting that every time there is a media hype over skinheads, there is an immediate increase in the numbers and visibility of skinheads.

It is obvious that skinheads would flock to media attention when the reasons why youth become skinheads are examined. Skinheads dress in an ‘occuous’ manner because they want to be noticed. It is obvious that if they did not want the attention, they would not dress that way. Indeed, they themselves describe very positively the feeling they get when people want to look at them but have to look away for fear of being accosted. Also, skinheads are proud of who they are, and what person does not want to be recognised for what they are good at? Competition between groups for recognised ‘staunchness’ may also contribute to the media hype/skinhead relationship. Lastly, in this media world, it seems that everyone nowadays enjoys media attention. Everyone wants a slice of the media pie, and why should skinheads be any different?

The **Harris gang** of Christchurch were staunch white power who associated with white power or Nazi skinheads in the mid to late '80's. Primarily concerned with criminal activity rather than skinheadism, they nevertheless contributed significantly to the continuation of the scene by being a stronghold and place of gathering, even if it was only symbolic to most Nazi skins. Their 'pad' was on Lincoln Road, and stories abound of their antics around that area with the public and the police. However, not so long ago, they won first division Lotto, and bought a property in a wealthier area, much to the immediate neighbourhood's dismay.

2.6

Skinheads in Christchurch Today

The last year or two has seen the rise of new skinhead crews, some named, with shirts and some not. The most notable of these are the Psychoskins, the Bandenkriegs, the 4th Reich and those associated with the Epitaph riders, known by some as young, or junior Epitaphs.

The **Psychoskins** (Psychos) only lasted 6 months, falling victim to vicious in-fighting that saw several of the leading members in prison, but while they existed, they commanded a fearsome reputation. By vehicle or on foot, they would haunt the central city, 'doing burgs' (burglaries), intimidating people, fighting, and consuming vast amounts of alcohol and drugs. According to one of their leaders, it was the Psychos who caused all the trouble that got the police involved at the end of 1993. They got sent to prison and the crime rate dropped, but it was then that the media hype picked up, inducing all the 'wannabes and drifters' to try to get in on the action and attention. As another example of this, I was told that there were only 15 people

in the Psychoskins, but there were many 'hanger-ons,' (many of whom the actual Psychos didn't even know) wanting to be known as part of the crew.

The **Bandenkrieg** (often called the Germans because of the name) are a special case in Christchurch because according to them they are not skinheads, but white power. To the rest of Christchurch, however, because they look like skinheads they are skinheads. This applies to skinheads who may not know better and other groups or gangs that they may cause trouble with, thereby giving skinheads a bad name.

The Bandenkrieg and the young Epitaphs are affiliated with biker's clubs; the former with the Christchurch Roadknights, and the latter with the Epitaph Riders. The bike clubs prospect (look for new members) from their younger affiliate gangs, while at the same time the skinheads themselves have 'prospectors' looking to join them. Prospectors do not have a pleasant time. The trials they are put through by the members of the gang or crew they are trying to join can be vicious and foul. They are often beaten up, one example being given to me of a prospector's arm being purposely broken a week after not handling himself with respect at a particular incident. This particular teenager was also thrown off a cliff after not jumping when he was told to, but it was worth it all to him, his friends said, to earn his shirt. The prospectors are slaves to the members whims, and have to endure a lot of pain. One lad spoke of a burn on his upper arm with pride - a lighter was lit for 10-15 minutes until it was very hot and then held against his skin. It is effectively a brand and a mark of respect proving that he has passed a certain stage in their system of initiation. The nickname for prospectors is 'bum-boys.' They are put through

hardship to find out if they are made of the “stuff” that a skinhead, and a skinhead aiming for the Roadknights should be. The broken arm was justified by the logic that it’s going to get broken by another gang member sometime, and it has got to be found out whether he can handle it.

The **young Epitaphs** are not a proper crew, but are just individuals affiliated to the biker club, hoping one day to be a biker with them. I have been told about friends that grew up together but ended up affiliated to the different clubs and therefore having to hate each other, with one instance of a ‘hit’ on an ex-friend’s house where one individual used to go and play throughout his childhood.

The **4th Reich** are a jail gang at the moment, and for the most part, appear to rule the skinheads of the East Wing of Paparua Prison in Canterbury, New Zealand. They maintain that anyone who is not ‘full-on staunch’ and able to stand up for themselves is not a real skin. Anyone in the East Wing, therefore, is automatically not a real skin. This is because when someone goes to Paparua, unless they have asked for protection they go to the East Wing. The protection wing is the West Wing and is for anyone in potential danger whilst in the East Wing.

Only a gang affiliated skinhead is safe from being hassled by the 4th Reich in the East Wing. When a non-gang affiliated skinhead goes to the East Wing, he is stood over by the 4th Reich and told that he must join them, grow his hair back, or ‘go West.’ Both the latter options are loss of face, and render the individual liable for severe beatings if he is caught by other skinheads in or out of prison. Not being

willing to fight for your right to 'skin up' is an unforgivable crime amongst most hardcore skinheads, and if someone was willing to grow their hair back to avoid a beating then the 4th Reich wouldn't have wanted them anyway. Going to the West Wing is shameful because that is where the child molesters go, and child molesting is high in the skinhead's list of shameful things to do. The final option, according to the 4th Reich, is for the individual in the East Wing to fight the 4th Reich members until he is finally left alone, but that may be after a lot of beatings. If a person joined the gang while in Paparua but then had nothing to do with them once out, he would be found out, located and then given a "hell thrashing." There is another option, and that is to be very big or have a very big reputation for fighting and winning. One skinhead who knows the gang said that when they get out of jail they will be a force to be reckoned with. Another said that they are just a jail gang.

The Christchurch skinhead scene at the moment (August, 1995) is quieter than it has been in terms of skinheads clashing with the public or the police. Public outrage, catalysed by the media attention over late 1993-94 has subsided with the drop in overt skinhead activity and subsequent media attention. The decrease has occurred at the same time as the New Way Trust has come into effect and it would be nice to say that this is due entirely to the Trust. In truth, however, after the police clampdown on skinheads many of the ringleaders and trouble makers went to prison, encouraging a temporary hush of skinhead activity.

2.7

Skins and Homies

“Why do they go round hating everyone?”

(Christchurch homie leader referring to skinheads)

In Spite of the skinhead scene being publicly quieter, the winter of 1995 has been described by Vic Tamati as the worst they’ve had in a long time (winter is usually the quieter period of the year for street workers because people tend to stay indoors more). His opinion comes from the perspective of working with Maori and Pacific Island youth subcultures, mainly homies, and is due partly to the trouble that has been caused by the Bandenkrieg. Mainly made up of teenagers, the now infamous white power crew (though many people believe them to be skinheads because of their appearance) are enjoying a free run around town with the protection of the Roadknights as a back up, gaining a reputation of being violent, unapproachable and above all, Nazi. One skinhead remarked to me that the Bandenkrieg need to be dealt with, and will be if they carry on the way they are. Presumably, he either means dealt with by homies or by other skins, or perhaps by both.

The homies progressed from the earlier street kids (CCSK = Christchurch City Street Kids). The subculture began 3-4 years ago in Christchurch and is based on the L.A. gang look of the 1990’s that sees a looser dress style than the skinheads. They wear baggy pants and tops, with beanies (long wool style hats with American brand names, and reminiscent of the tea cosy look of the Rastafarians) or baseball caps, and they usually listen to Black American music or New Zealand music of a similar style. Videos, movies and clothes have helped catalyse the homie movement

Homies have got younger and younger, with the look passing down through friends and siblings to kids just starting school. They commit burglaries for money and for guns, which they eventually sell, often to adult gangs. There are many young homie gangs around Christchurch; going by names such as the EHB's (East Hampshire Boys), the RG's, (Ruthless Greens), the MTG's (Maori Tribal Gangsters), the Bloods, the Crypts, and the Flows. Homies in Christchurch are modelled on USA gangs, but are racially mixed as opposed to the original gangs. In USA, the Crypts are Tongans, the Bloods are Samoan, and the Booya (sound of a sawn off shotgun) Tribe are also Samoan.

A couple of years ago, there was an increase in homie/skinhead trouble that was thought to be exacerbated by an influx of North Island relatives of local homies by the Christchurch skinheads, but this was not true, it was merely the youngsters growing up and forming gangs. The 'scene' had started. Many of them come from an area known as East Hampshire in Wainoni, a block bounded by Breezes Road, Pages Road, Bexleys Road, and Wainoni Road, and containing many state houses. The rent is cheap there, but because of this skinheads are also beginning to live there. The homie leader interviewed warned that there might be a war there soon because of the skins moving in on what is known as homie turf. Already, there has been a gun death there, but this was actually a homie shooting another homie, rather than a skinhead.

The history of homie/skin clashes is also reported to have been “blown up” by the media. The summer of 1992-93 saw the first major clashes, and the summer of 1993-94 was also heavy with conflict. Shorty says: “It is the history of young people - they like to be noticeable, be set apart, have pals.”

It is not only the Bandenkrieg who are causing trouble with the homies. As in the early 1980's, there are pockets of skinhead or white power groups dotted around Christchurch, for instance, around Northcote. These groups are not known by any names, but are merely identified by the area that they come from and by who their friends are. Like the majority of the homies, these unaffiliated groups are often 16 years old and younger, still at school and living at home. In Christchurch, homies usually grow out of the scene, but often skinheads grow into theirs, remaining skins for a lot longer than homies remain with their style. In Auckland, however, it is quite different because of the much higher population of Maori and Pacific Islanders. Adult homies are common, while skinheads are rarely seen, indicating that while there are relatively fewer numbers there is also probably a lower rate of on-going commitment to the skinhead culture.

In a sense, the homies have now claimed the inner city, including the Square and surrounding streets as their turf, with the more violent skinheads tending to congregate in the South City carpark area of Colombo St. just out of the inner city on the weekends. This is a lot different to two years ago, when skinheads hung out in the Square every day, and were able to talk to homies if they so felt. Nowadays, skinheads are scorned or even physically punished by other skinheads or white

power if they are caught talking to homies. This may be because they feel threatened and pushed out of the city by the homies. There is still tension about.

In conclusion, the skinhead scene in Christchurch today has settled down somewhat from 1993 and 1994 in terms of tourist abuse, and therefore media attention. This has mainly been because there is now a lower visibility of skins in the inner city, and this is due largely to the skinhead ringleaders being put in prison and the growth of the homie culture in the city.

2.8

The Future

There have been warnings about what could happen when the more active skinheads are released from prison and about the 4th Reich when they become more than just a jail gang. Kyle Chapman sums it up in a statement he made in his August 1994 report to the New Way Trust: “When the next wave of skins gets out of jail there will be more skinhead violence and appearances in public.”

Appendix I - A History of the New Way Trust (From Addison, 1995 - Evaluation of the New Way Trust Skinhead Project)

Material for this section was gained from interviews with Agency workers, the Trustees, Kyle Chapman, and newspaper articles from the Christchurch Press.

1. The Social Background to the Trust

"Crime in Christchurch rose 1.9 per cent last year - slightly higher than the national 0.7 per cent increase." (The Press, 2/4/94)

There are no specific crime statistics on skinheads held by the New Zealand Police. However, at the same time as skinheads were gaining prominence in the media's and the public's attention, the crime in Christchurch was noted by the Police to rise at a rate higher than that of the rest of New Zealand. There are at least four possible interpretations of this:

1. The rising crime rate was a direct reflection of the rise in anti-social and illegal activities of the skinheads.
2. The social climate in Christchurch at that time was conducive to a general rise in anti-social, illegal activity, to which the skinheads merely contributed.
3. The most visually prominent and socially repellent subculture emerging in Christchurch at that time were the skinheads. Thus, the skinheads were scapegoated, albeit unconsciously, by the Police, the media and the public, who were all concerned with the rising crime rate.

4. There is no connection at all between the inordinate rise in crime and the corresponding rise in skinhead activity and media attention.

Even if none of these interpretations of the statistics is correct, the fact remains that for Christchurch, 1993 was a year featuring an increase in crime, and a comparative increase in skinhead activity and media attention. This culminated in the Christchurch City Council and the Crime Prevention Unit funding the New Way Trust.

2. The Concept of the Trust

The concept of the Trust was first attempted with 'Skinhead Nation,' a South Island wide skinhead group put together by Kyle Chapman in June of 1992. However, the true realisation of this did not happen because Skinhead Nation degenerated into a criminal gang. Kyle then left, and made a commitment to become a volunteer outreach youth worker with the Christchurch City Mission, still believing in the possibilities of a skinhead aid group.

3. The Origins of the Trust

The Trust has been a Council project from the beginning, when community advisers became aware of Kyle and the need for skinhead assistance. In mid 1993, Martin Maguire first read about Kyle in the newspaper. He thought that the work Kyle was doing sounded interesting and he thought that he could help. Looking for Kyle, he went to the square and met him through Vic Tamati (Christchurch City Mission), whom he already knew. Vic supported Kyle, which was significant

because he has a high profile in the Square where Kyle was operating. Vic introduced him to people. Kyle was on the dole so he talked to Martin and Richard Thomas, the Youth Adviser to the Council about setting up a Trust and thereby gaining full time employment.

The Council saw that Kyle's effectiveness was limited by support, and the proposal of \$15,000 funding was put to the Council and approved. Other minority groups had been given assistance (the Youth and Cultural Development Centre had recently been set up), and skinheads were identified as another homogenous group of disturbed youth opting out of society. But the approval had provisos:

1. Richard Thomas must stay in contact;
2. It was to be monitored and evaluated;
3. It was dependent upon extra Government funding;
4. There was to be a Council member on the trust. They stipulated the chairperson of the Cultural and Social Services Committee of the Council, who was David Close: "If the Council puts money into something they like to have someone there and this project is, and was very controversial" (David Close);
5. The Police also became involved, with some supporting and some opposing the setting up of the Trust. Detective Superintendent Neville Stokes became a Trustee.

The attention the skinheads were getting around that time led to divisions of opinion over the establishment of the Trust within the Christchurch City Council, the Police, and the public. It was a highly controversial issue made more so by the fact

that Kyle Chapman himself is a skinhead. The Trust's funding was discussed in the papers and on talkback radio with many negative comments and David Close received many phone calls. Criticisms came from those who felt left out or marginalised by society, but who felt morally superior to the skins; for example, solo mums and the aged. Some people were opposed to aid for the skinheads, while others believed that the skinheads were somehow getting money. This applied to skinheads as well. Skinheads asked Kyle for a slice of the money, and David Close received calls asking about the skinhead home that was imagined to be a sort of party house.

4. **The Trust Begins**

The New Way Trust began in February, 1994, the same month as the article quoted above, with Kyle, Elaine Chapman, and Cullum Grant (a skinhead) as the original Trustees, and Kyle began full time paid work for the Trust in June of that year. A skinhead 'halfway-house' was one of Kyle's main aims with the Trust, but this was deemed too expensive and dangerous to run by the Council, taking into account the alternatives that were already available.

In March of 1994, the Canterbury Youth Work Training Forum held a seminar on the skinhead and homie² problem at which Kyle did a presentation on skinheads. The seminar was held to work, "towards the resolution of youth conflicts and tensions" (Seminar proceedings document), and was the result of other community

² - The homies are a youth subculture mainly composed of Maori and Polynesians. (See also Appendix IV, 6.2.7 - Skins and Homies.)

agencies wanting to know what was going on. This was an important step in the promotion of Kyle and the New Way Trust amongst other youth aid organisations.

On the morning of the seminar an article misrepresenting Kyle's involvement with the National Front was in the Press, and at the next Christchurch City Council meeting, and Kyle was instructed to have no more involvement with the press.

Delia Baskerville was initially the Chairperson for two meetings but then could not make it to meetings anymore, so David Close became the acting Chairperson. Richard Thomas was the liaison between the Council and Kyle. He was also Kyle's support and constant adviser. The official 'advisers/defacto trustees were Leslie Campbell and Gabrielle O'Connell from Community Corrections. Leslie helped Kyle with his reports.

5. Further Developments

Donna Sewhoy was the first official volunteer worker, beginning in mid 1994. During 1995, Nicky Taylor and Colin McCluskey became volunteer workers for the Trust, taking over from Donna.

The Trust went through a difficult period during the first half of 1995. Richard Thomas, the Council adviser to the Trust and Kyle's adviser, left in January, 1995 and it took three months to find a replacement. At the same time, they were down to three effective trustees - David Close, Elaine Chapman and Neville Stokes, and Leslie and Gabrielle ceased their activity with the Trust. Kyle turned himself over to

the police and voluntarily admitted to, amongst others, violent, racially motivated crimes committed years ago, and he was given a two year suspended sentence. This development left Kyle's future with the Trust in limbo for approximately three months. As a consequence of the above, two stressful Trust meetings were held during this time.

In September, 1994, the Trust moved into an office in the Youth and Cultural Development Centre (YCD), and from there began operating a 'drop-in' centre.

Premises for the New Way Trust were moved to the Youth Health Trust in July, 1995. Initially operating from the Hebron drop-in centre, in September Kyle and Nicky moved into their own office.

6. **The 'Present'**

When the evaluation was completed, September 1995, the Trust was described by all as functioning well. Julie Macdonald was the replacement for Richard Thomas, helping to re-stabilise the running of the Trust. Nicky Taylor had now become a full time, paid worker, and unfortunately, Colin McCluskey had ceased volunteer work, economic necessity forcing him to search elsewhere for full-time paid employment.

Further funding had been approved by the Council for wages for Nicky Taylor, but there had not yet been an answer to the application for Kyle's wages to the Lottery Commission. An application was also to be made to the Trustbank for funding of office expenses.

7. The Future

An application is to be made for the institution of a prison programme.

New Trustees and volunteer workers are being assessed.

Kyle is putting forward a proposal to the Trust for extending the scope of the Trust South Island Wide. This would include Nelson, Dunedin and Invercargill.

How well do these questions fit you?

Below are a number of statements designed to assess feelings you have concerning different aspects of your life.

All of the questions can be answered on a 5 point scale from “**strongly disagree**” to “**strongly agree.**” The middle point (number 3) can be thought of as “**I have no opinion.**”

Circle the number in each question that you feel best represents you.

1. I sometimes feel that the people I know are not too friendly.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

2. Most of my work at school seemed worthwhile and meaningful to me.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

3. I sometimes feel uncertain about who I really am.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

4. I feel that my family is not as close to me as I would like.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

5. When people I know are having problems, it's my responsibility to try to help.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

6. I often wonder whether I'm becoming the kind of person I want to be.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

7. It's hard to know how to act most of the time since you can't tell what others expect.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

8. I often feel left out of things that others are doing.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

9. Nowadays you can't really count on other people when you have problems or need help.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

10. Most people don't seem to accept me when I'm just being myself.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

11. I often find it difficult to feel involved in the things I'm doing.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

12. Hardly anyone I know is interested in how I really feel inside.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

13. I generally feel that I have a lot of interests in common with other people around me.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

14. I often feel alone when I am with other people.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

15. If I really had my choice I'd live my life in a very different way than I do.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

16. There's no use writing to public officials because they aren't really interested in the problems of the average person.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

17. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

18. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average person is getting worse, not better.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

19. It's not fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

20. These days a person doesn't really know whom he [or she] can count on.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

21. Most people really don't care what happens to the next person.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

22. To make money there are no right and wrong ways anymore, only easy and hard ways.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

23. Next to health, money is the most important thing in life.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

24. You sometimes can't help wondering whether anything is worthwhile.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>strongly</i>	<i>disagree</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>agree</i>	<i>strongly</i>
<i>disagree</i>		<i>opinion</i>		<i>agree</i>

Appendix IVSkinhead Questions

For some of the questions, you will be asked to rate your answer on a scale of [1-5], 1 being the lowest, 5 being the highest, and 3 being the answer that indicates a middle of the road opinion. This is for my thesis.

AGESEX

- 1) a) Do you consider yourself to be a skinhead?

[if not] Why not? How long have you been affiliated with skinheads?

- b) Do you belong to a particular skinhead group or gang?
- c) How old were you when you became a skinhead?
- d) How or why did you become a skinhead?
- e) Do you see skinheadism as a movement? What values does the movement have?

- 2) a) When you talk about being a skinhead, what do you mean? What does it mean to you to be a skinhead? How would you describe your lifestyle?

*How important is it to you on a scale of [1-5]?

- b) Do you consider violence [1-5]?, racism [1-5]? and property crime [1-5]? to be part of skinhead philosophy?
- c) Have your views on these issues ever changed? Why?
- d) What roles do you think men and women have within the skinhead scene?

e) What roles do you think men and women have outside the skinhead scene?

3) a) Do you know Kyle, or have you met him?

[If so] *When did you meet Kyle? *How did you meet him?

b) Do your skinhead friends know Kyle or know of him?

4) a) How would you describe Kyle in his role as a skinhead youth worker?

[1-5]? extremely ineffective - extremely effective

b) How important do you think his type of work is? **[1-5]?**

5) a) What do you see as the challenges that Kyle faces in the work that he does?

b) Are there other things that you think Kyle could be doing in his work?

6) Do you feel that Kyle can help you in any way?

[1-5]? not at all-can help a lot

7) Are you currently employed?

[If so] *Did Kyle have anything to do with you getting this job?

[If not] *Since meeting with Kyle, have you had any jobs, or job interviews?

[If so] *Has Kyle been able to help with this?

- 8) a) Do you wish to further your education or training in any type of area?
b) Would you like Kyle to help this happen?
- 9) a) Have you attended any life development courses that have been recommended to you by Kyle? eg, literacy and numeracy, driver's licence, flatting skills, sexual education, personal development?
b) Are you interested in attending courses such as literacy and numeracy [1-5]?, driver's licence [1-5]?, flatting skills [1-5]?, sexual education [1-5]?, anger management [1-5]?, cultural awareness [1-5]?
[not interested-very interested]
- 10) a) Have you ever been in trouble with the police?
[if so] * Since you've known Kyle, has this type of thing occurred?
b) Do you think courses such as anger management or cultural awareness might help keep you out of trouble with the police?
- 11) a) On scales of [1-5], from non-user to heavy user, how would you describe yourself in relation to alcohol and drugs, eg, dope, acid, rush, pills, mushrooms, datura, hard drugs?
b) Do you think your attitude to alcohol [1-5]? and drugs [1-5]? has changed since you have known Kyle? **[no change-great deal]**
c) Has Kyle ever talked to you about AA, NA, or alcohol and drugs?

12) a) How important is your family to you on a scale of [1-5]?

[not important at all - very important]

b) As a child or young person, did you suffer any significant physical or emotional hurt?

13) a) Have you ever felt like you wanted to leave the skinhead scene?

b) Did you (or do you) feel like you could approach Kyle about this?

[if so] * Did Kyle help? How?

14) A sum of money has been set aside to pay for Kyle's work. Do you think this money would be better used to assist skinheads if spent in another way?

15) a) Do you have any other comments that you'd like to add - anything else that you'd like to say? For instance, has anything that you've talked about brought up something else that interests you or that you might think is not connected, but you'd still like to say it?

b) What do you think of this questionnaire?

Note: 1) Do you know of anyone else who would also talk to me?

2) Would you like a summary of the evaluation when it is finished?